

A CONCISE HISTORY OF INDIA

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PREFACE

This historical survey of India from the earliest times to our own days is based on the Syllabus published by the Bombay Secondary School Certificate Board in February 1951. In the writing of the book it was found necessary to introduce certain events and persons not mentioned in the Syllabus, in order that the persons and events listed therein might appear in their proper setting. It rests with the teacher to make a wise choice of the important historical facts on which he has to insist.

The book is written on the following plan: first, a brief account of some historical event or of a sequence of historical events; next, the questions covering the above account; finally, bracketed references have been appended to the questions, in order to help the students to find the relevant details in the body of the text and to answer the questions correctly and completely.

J. H. G.

St. Xavier's College,
Bombay.
15th October, 1951.

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PERIOD I (TO A. D. 320)

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

First of all it is important to say something about the country whose history is the subject-matter of this study.

1. The Name of the Country. The country has been called India since time immemorial. It would seem that this name was first given to it by the Greeks. The word India is a corruption of Sindhu, an ancient name of the river Indus.

But long before this, India was known as 'the land of Bharata'. 'The country north of the ocean and south of the snowy mountains is called Bharata, where dwell the descendants of Bharata.' Bharata was one of the early rulers in ancient time, and the country was named after him. Even now India is called Bharat, which is fast becoming the country's official name.

In former days the name Bharatavarsha was used to convey the idea that, even in those distant times, India was already one kingdom. The country has also been known by half a dozen other names: Ajanabha, Aryavarta, Intu (used by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang), Hind, and Hindustan.

2. Geographical Description. If we travel from Cape Comorin in a northern direction up to the Himalayas, we cross various tracts of land with distinctive geographical features: a region of tablelands, a region of plains, and a region of mountains.

The region of tablelands comprises the Deccan and the tableland of Central India.

The Deccan, which is triangular in shape, is separated

from the tableland of Central India by the Vindhya Range. Its two other sides are the Western and Eastern Ghats, of which the outer slopes do not reach the sea, but end in narrow coastal plains, washed respectively by the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.

The tableland of Central India is likewise triangular in shape. It has the Vindhya Range for its base; its north-western side is formed by the Aravalli Mountains; its north-eastern side by the edge of the plain of the Ganges.

The region of plains is formed by the basins of the Indus and the Ganges.

The region of mountains stretches to the west of the basin of the Indus and to the north of the basin of the Ganges.

3. Geography and History. Some of these geographical features have played an important part in Indian history.

(a) *The Western and Northern Mountains.* These mountains did not protect India from invasion, because in certain places there are passes where the mountains can be crossed. The most important passes are: (i) the Bolan Pass near Quetta, (ii) the Gomal Pass near the river Gomal, (iii) the Khyber Pass near Peshwar, (iv) (v) (vi) three Tibetan passes leading into Kashmir, the Punjab and towards Darjeeling, (vii) the Makram coast-route, which is not really a pass, but a tract of flat country between the southern end of the western mountain and the sea.

By one or the other of the first three passes the Aryans, Alexander the Great and the Mughuls entered India. The Tibetan passes were crossed by several wandering tribes. By the Makram coast-route the Arabs marched into Sind.

(b) *The Vindhya Range.* This is the name usually given to the mountains dividing the Deccan from the tableland of Central India. In reality there are three ranges: the Vindhya, the Satpura and the Ajanta Range. The Himalayas with an average height of 25,000 feet did not protect India from invasion, yet the Vindhya Range, which never rises as high as 5,000 feet, stopped the Aryans from going southwards. Why was this? Perhaps because the triple line of mountains was more difficult to cross than the Himalayan passes. Or perhaps because crossing the Himalayas was a matter of life and death, whereas there was no urgent need to invade Southern India. If there had been no Vindhya Range, there would not have been a separate history of Southern India.

(c) *The Coastline.* A coastline more than 5,000 miles long is difficult to defend against invaders coming by sea, and the Makram coastal route is an open entrance in the west.

(d) *Rivers and Plains.* The network of the northern rivers, the Indus, the Ganges and their tributaries, made the land, fertilized the land and distributed the produce of the land. The fertile plains of the Punjab and of Hindustan Proper explain why India was so often invaded from the north.

4. Important Landmarks. The history of India may be divided into three parts.

(a) *Ancient Indian History.* There is first of all a long period the events of which cannot be properly arranged in order of time. It is the *undated* history of India, also known as the Prehistoric Times, from the earliest beginnings to the year 600 B.C.

(b) *Early Indian History.* From the year 600 B.C. onwards the events can be properly arranged in order

of time, but the dates assigned to them are not absolutely certain. This part of Indian History extends from 600 B.C. to 326 B.C.

(c) *Actual Indian History.* The year 326 B.C. is the earliest date that is absolutely certain. In that year Alexander the Great marched through the Khyber Pass on his way to India. This event thus marks the beginning of Actual Indian History.

The question which naturally arises is: Whence do we get our knowledge of the various events which took place in Ancient Indian History and in Early Indian History?

5. Sources of Information. (a) *Of Indian Origin.* Most of our knowledge about prehistoric India is derived from books, sacred and profane.

- (i) *The Vedas.* First and foremost are the Vedas, the Books of Wisdom of the East: the Rig-Veda, a Samhita or collection of hymns to the deities, which is held in the highest esteem; the Sama-Veda, a textbook for priests, which gives detailed instructions how to perform the Soma Sacrifice; the Yajurveda, teaching the manner of performing not only the Soma Sacrifice but also every other sacrifice; and the Atharvaveda, differing greatly from the others, made up of spells to bring down a blessing or a curse. These four Vedas are also called Samhitas.
- (ii) Next in rank come the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras*. The Brahmanas are an explanation of the Samhitas; the Upanishads are a collection of philosophical studies; the Sutras deal with the Vedic ritual and the customary law.
- (iii) *The Puranas*, eighteen in number, treat of various subjects: mythology, history, philosophy and sacred law.

- (iv) *The Laws of Manu* contain a great number of rules, laws, customs and rites which the Brahman student had to observe.
- (v) The two great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, give an account of the struggle between rival factions and of the military exploits of Rama.
- (vi) A good deal of information may also be gathered from the inscriptions on coins, copper plates and monuments, and, last but not least, from the excavation work which has led to the discovery of the remains of unknown cities of the past.

(b) *Foreign Sources of Information.* These are the writings of the Chinese pilgrims and travellers who gave detailed accounts of what they saw during their stay in India. Less important are the works of several Greek historians who at times mention one fact or another which confirms some statement previously made by an Indian writer.

6. Beginning of Civilization. The men of the Stone Age: It is likely that in India as elsewhere the first inhabitants used tools and instruments made of stone. Their axes, knives and arrows were at first clumsily made in the Earlier Stone Age. They were afterwards made more cleverly in the Later Stone Age, when men began to cultivate the ground, keep cattle, spin thread, weave cloth and make pottery in a crude manner. This gradual advance in their way of living was probably a slow process, but there came a time when men no longer used tools and implements made of stone, but of metal. This was the beginning of civilization, civilization in its infancy.

7. Legendary Tales. It is difficult to describe the early stages of civilization in India. Some of the

accounts that have come down to us are too fanciful to be believed.

(a) *The First Greek Conqueror.* When Alexander the Great invaded India, he came to the town and hill-state of Nysa, which he determined to attack and to subdue. His attempt to capture the town by assault ended in failure. He then prepared to reduce it by blockade, but the inhabitants declared that they were ready to surrender, and put forward their reasons for expecting to be treated leniently. Their town was called Nysa, like a certain town in Greece sacred to Dionysus, the god of wine and song, who was a great traveller and is said to have penetrated deep into Asia. In fact they claimed to be Dionysus' descendants. By way of proof they pointed out that the ivy and the vine grew in their country, and Dionysus used to go about crowned with vine-leaves or ivy. In short they asked to be treated as kinsmen. Alexander deemed it a good policy to comply with their request, but the whole story is so fanciful that it would be absurd to hold that Dionysus was actually the first Greek conqueror of India.

(b) *The Story of the Flood.* The Biblical flood or deluge was a great inundation in which all men and animals perished, excepting those saved in the Ark, as Noah's vessel was called. Belief in a great flood is found all over the world—among the people of Babylon, the North American Indians, the Chinese, the inhabitants of many islands in the Pacific Ocean, and also in India.

The Indian belief in a great flood is mentioned in the Shatapatha Brahmana in about 500 B.C. 'Manu, the first man, when water was brought to him for washing, found therein a small fish, which promised him, if he took care of it, to save him in the coming flood. The fish grew, and at last had to be carried to the sea, where it revealed to Manu the time of the flood and bade

him build a ship. When the time came, Manu went on board; the grateful fish towed the ship to the summit of a mountain. Little by little the waters fell, Manu descended from the mountain and offered a sacrifice and prayed.'

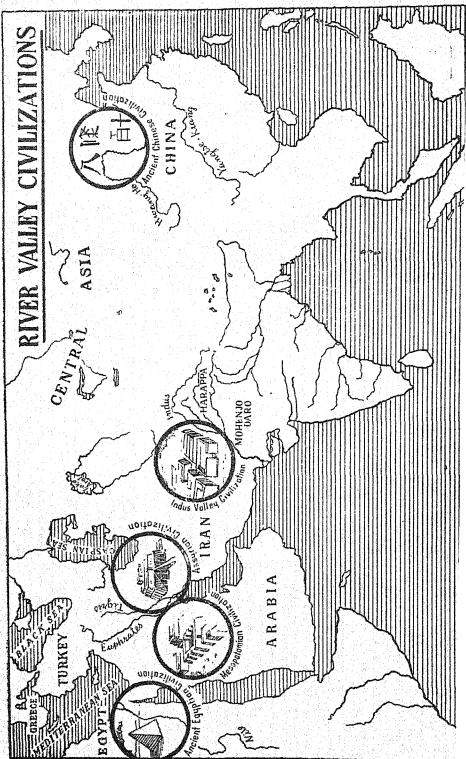
It is difficult to explain the origin of the many flood-stories. Some of them are thought to be exaggerated accounts of a local event. But others, and the Indian flood-story among them, seem to have the Biblical deluge as their common source of origin. This would mean that even in remote ancient times Indian culture was or had already been in touch with the Mesopotamian cultures.

8. The Cradle of the Aryans. It is safe to say that civilization began to spread rapidly throughout India with the coming of the Aryans.

The general opinion is that the Aryans were invaders. Some authorities say that their original home was somewhere in Europe, others somewhere in Asia. Nobody can say for certain whence they came. Nor do the tablets, discovered by German excavators at Boghaz-koi in Cappadocia, a country in Asia Minor, help to solve the problem. The inscriptions on them date back to 1400 B.C., and they mention Vedic deities like Indra and Varuna, while the names of the rulers resemble those of the early Aryans.

At first it was thought that those settlers in Cappadocia were a wave of adventurers coming from India, but this view is no longer held. Others are of opinion that the early Aryans on their way to India passed through Cappadocia, where a number of them stayed behind. Finally, others believe that the Aryans, before reaching Cappadocia, split into two parts, some of them travelling towards India, others taking another route which lead them to Cappadocia.

RIVER VALLEY CIVILIZATIONS



None of these attempted explanations gives a satisfactory solution of the problem of the original home of the Aryans. What is beyond all doubt is that in course of time they occupied that part of India which lies to the north of the Vindhya Range, and which became known as Aryavarta, the country of the Aryans. By that time their numbers had increased very greatly.

It is also an established fact that, after crossing the northern mountain ranges, the first Aryan invaders began by occupying the upper and the middle course of the river Indus. In the land of Aryavarta, there was a spot, or rather a province, that was held in higher esteem than any other. It was called Brahnavarta, situated to the south of the upper course of the Sutlej between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati. It is here that the Rig-Veda is believed to have been completed: and there is a couplet in the Mahabharata which says: "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra, to the south of the Saraswati and north of the Drishadvati, dwell in Heaven!"

9. River Valley Civilization. When the Aryans first settled down in the Land of the Five Rivers, they found themselves in the most favourable spot they could possibly have chosen. Their subsequent progress and prosperity may help us to understand what is meant by the phrase River Valley Civilization.

From the earliest times, when families combined together to form villages and afterwards towns, the most successful people were those who built their city on the banks of some great river. This had happened before in Mesopotamia, Egypt and China, where cities were built and empires were founded on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Nile and the Hoang-Ho. It happened again when the Aryans came to India and

first established themselves on the banks of the upper and middle Indus.

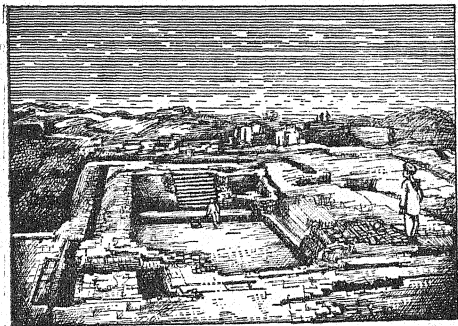
QUESTIONS

1. Which geographical features of the land played an important part in Indian History? [3(a)-(d)]
2. Show the historical importance of the Vindhya Range. [3(b)]
3. Why was India open to invaders from outside? [3(a)-(c)]
4. Which are the chief sources of information about Ancient and Early Indian History [5(a)-(b)]
5. Was Dionysus the first Greek conqueror of India? [7 (a)]
6. Discuss the story of the Indian flood. [7(b)]
7. Write a note on the cradle of the Aryans. [8]
8. What is meant by the phrase River Valley Civilization? [9]

II. IN PRE-ARYAN DAYS

1. Recent Discoveries. Until a short time ago it was commonly believed that the Dravidians and the Aryans were the first two important nations in India. But in 1926 excavations, made at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, brought to light the remains of a previously unknown city. Similar discoveries were made at Harappa in the West-Punjab, over 400 miles north of Mohenjo-Daro, and likewise in Baluchistan. These discoveries have established the fact that 3,000 years before Christ there existed in Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab a highly developed culture, which is now known as the Indus Valley Civilization.

2. Indus Valley Civilization. (a) *Flourishing Cities.* The excavations have made it possible to reconstruct the past. Mohenjo-Daro was a perfectly laid-out city with a fine drainage system. There were roads, streets and alleys; there were private houses, some of them two-



MOHENJO-DARO

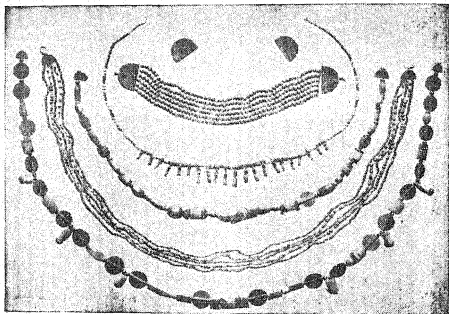
storeyed buildings with servants' quarters, a courtyard, a well, bathrooms and latrines. There were also larger buildings probably for public use, and a swimming pool. Harappa was even a larger town; it had an extensive



HARAPPA POTTERY

granary, workmen's quarters and considerable fortification works consisting of an outer wall with rectangular bastions. These two towns are conclusive proof of the advanced state of civilization of the people.

(b) *The People.* The ancient people of the Indus Valley were artisans and farmers, hunters and warriors.



MOHENJO-DARO JEWELLERY

They made use of chisel and saw; they had axes, spears and slings. The women wore rich jewellery, necklaces, bangles, ear-rings, and anklets. Among other interesting objects discovered by the excavators there were mills for grinding corn, weights, jars and even razors.

(c) *The Unsolved Mystery.* It has not yet been ascertained whence those people came, with whom they traded and how they disappeared. Various explanations have been attempted. Some authorities trace a relation between the people of the Indus Valley and the wandering Hittites who roamed from Asia Minor to Palestine. Others hold that they were of the same stock as the Sumerians who lived in Babylon in the valley of the Euphrates. Still others believe that they came from Assyria in Mesopotamia or from Persia. Finally, there are those that state that they were either Aryans or Dravidians.

None of these answers is satisfactory. Perhaps the

solution of the problem is contained in the seals of which hundreds have been found at Mohenjo-Daro and also at Harappa. These seals are marked with figures and strange signs, a form of pictorial writing; but all attempts to read this writing have up to now ended in failure.



SEAL OF MOHENJO-DARA

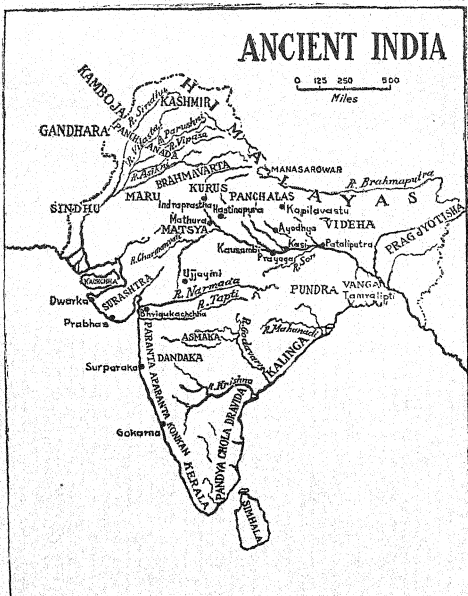
Once the meaning of this writing has been found out, it may perhaps become possible to say whence the people of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa came, and how they lived. Meanwhile, their appearance and their stay in the Indus Valley are as great a mystery as their disappearance from it.

3. The Dravidians. (a) *Their Home.* The early Dravidians had their home in the Indian Peninsula, to the south of the Vindhya Range, which, for some reason or other, the Aryans never crossed in numbers. Perhaps the triple line of mountains (the Vindhya, the Satpura, and the Ajanta Range) with its broad belt of forests and hills was too difficult an obstacle. Perhaps the Aryans did not feel the need of marching further south, as there was plenty of room in the fertile northern plains. The fact remains that they stopped north of the Vindhya Range.

(b) *Their Origin.* Whence did the Dravidians come? This question is still under discussion. Many historians are of opinion that the Dravidians are aboriginals, the first and primitive inhabitants of Southern India. Others

hold that the Dravidians are immigrants who entered India from the north-west. The Dravidian problem can only be solved by accounting for the presence of the Brahuīs in Baluchistan.

The Brahuīs, now numbering about 50,000 speak a



Dravidian language, though the Dravidian elements in their speech are rapidly disappearing under the influence of neighbouring dialects. They are believed to be of Dravidian stock. If they settled in Baluchistan on their way from the north-west into India, while their companions marched further southwards, then the Dravidians are immigrants. But it is also possible that a little band of Dravidians travelled from Southern India towards the north; and in that case the Dravidians are aboriginals.

(c) *State of Civilization.* The Dravidians were not a mere primitive people; among them there were farmers and fisherman, boat-builders and sailors, and skilled workmen who made vessels of copper and bronze and ornaments of silver and gold.

They lived in villages and towns, and formed family groups united by social ties. It has even been claimed that Dravidian kingdoms existed before the coming of the Aryans to India. Perhaps these kingdoms were still in the making; but it is beyond all doubt that gradually there sprang up a Dravidian civilization, which owed little, if anything, to the Aryans.

This civilization spread over the whole of Southern India, in those parts where nowadays Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam, Tulu and Telugu are spoken. All this was Dravidian country, and has remained so to this day. The Dravidian type is easily recognisable and is characteristic of many inhabitants of Southern India.

QUESTIONS

1. What ancient cities have recently been discovered and where? What do we know about these cities and their people? [1, 2(a) (b)]
2. What is meant by the mystery of Mohenjo-Daro? [2(c)]
3. In what part of India did the Dravidians live? Whence did they come? What was their state of civilization? [3(a)-(c)]
4. Write a note on the Brahuis, and explain the importance of the Brahui problem. [3(b)]

III. THE VEDIC PERIOD *also to be seen in 100 B.C.*

1. Sources of Information. At all times wandering tribes in search of a new home have drifted southwards, where the sun shines and the land is fertile. This was the case with the Aryans who entered India through one of the north-western mountain passes after 2000 B.C. As our knowledge of them is mainly derived from the Vedas, the coming of the Aryans is the beginning of the Vedic Period in Ancient Indian History. No other period has such an abundant literature (*See* Introductory Remarks, 5) containing valuable information about the Aryans.

2. Administration. The system of civil administration developed little by little as the Aryans spread and prospered in their new home. It passed through several stages: those of the family, the village, the tribe, and the kingdom.

At first the family lived its own independent life. The father was the head of the family, the owner of the land and cattle, the breadwinner and the priest. He was the master of the home and its defender, and lighted the sacrificial fire on his own hearth. This was no longer the case when the Aryans invaded India.

Next, for the sake of mutual protection, or in order to improve their position, the families combined into villages. The authority of the head of the family became less, but he was still an important personage, both in his home and also in the newly formed village. The fathers of families chose the village council of five members to watch over the welfare of the village. This was the beginning of the village *panchayat*. It led to one of its members becoming the *headman*.

In course of time, just as families had combined into

villages and for the same reasons, villages combined into tribes. The tribal chieftain was a man of exceptional gifts and character, strong and capable, a wise administrator in time of peace, and a tower of strength in time of war. He was chosen by the members of the several village councils who formed the tribal assembly. The tribal chieftain was responsible for the security of the tribe, while the tribal council settled disputes between village and village. It would seem that when the Aryans entered India, they were already thus organized.

The final step in this progress towards nationhood was the change of the tribe into the kingdom. In practice the tribal chieftain was like a king, and in course of time he became a king, first in one part of Aryavarta, then elsewhere, till at last a number of kingdoms came into existence. The foremost duty of the king was the protection and administration of his country. He governed with the consent of his subjects. There was a popular assembly or *Sabha* which advised the ruler of the land and played an important part in the administration of justice.

Their system of administration was monarchical throughout: first the father of the family, then the village headman, next the tribal chieftain, finally the king.

3. Culture and Social Customs. It is true that the early Aryans had no temples, but this does not mean that they were without religion. As they lived in the open spaces, they were worshippers of Nature. They prayed to the sky and the rain, the sun and the moon, the mountains and the rivers, the dawn and the night. But they also invoked other gods of a higher order, as for example, Varuna.

Their occupations at first centred round the home. The early Aryans were cattle-breeders, but not like those

wandering tribes too restless to settle down anywhere and always on the move. They were also farmers, and others among them were weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, makers of tents and workers in gold.

As they had to protect their herds against wild beasts, and their fields against robbers, they soon became expert hunters and brave warriors. They were tall and strong and courageous, and they loved manly amusements, hunting, boxing, and chariot-racing. A favourite pastime of the men was dicing, while the women were fond of dancing and music.

In those early days the Aryans were very proud of their racial superiority. They did not intermarry at random with the non-Aryans, and the word *Varna* which occurs in the Rig-Veda did not imply cast distinctions. All the Aryans belonged to one and the same class, though they were naturally grouped into professions: the priests, the warriors, the farmers, the artisans. *Varna* was used to mark the colour bar between the Aryans and the non-Aryans. The Aryans were a fair-complexioned race, theirs was the Aryan *Varna*, in opposition to the dark-skinned inhabitants of the country, 'those reddish in appearance,' whose *Varna* or colour was altogether unlike that of 'the white-complexioned sons of Indra'. Yet it seems clear that in course of time the Aryans took wives from among the non-Aryans.

4. Aryan Extension in Northern India. (a) *Initial Difficulties.* After crossing the north-western mountain passes without opposition, the Aryans found that the country which lay before them was already inhabited. However, it was such a vast country that there would have been plenty of room for the people already living there and for the newcomers as well; but a bitter struggle soon began.

It is impossible to say how the fighting started. Perhaps a little band of Aryan settlers forcibly subdued the local inhabitants of some fertile valley. It may also be that the inhabitants began carrying off the cattle of the Aryans. Be that as it may, before long a fierce war was being waged between them.

The primitive inhabitants of the country were called Dasyus by the Aryans, and the name means either 'enemies' or 'servants'. A likely explanation is that the word at first stood for 'enemies', and afterwards, when the Dasyus had been defeated and enslaved, it came to mean 'servants'.

These aboriginal Dasyus were far superior to the men of the Stone Age; they already used tools made of metal. Their occupations were farming and cattle-breeding, spinning and weaving, and a crude attempt at pottery making. They had already some idea of village life, formed family groups, and had fortified places, where they took refuge when attacked.

From the fact that the Dasyus are several times mentioned in the Rig-Veda, where the gods are called upon to destroy them, it follows that they were fairly numerous. However, they were at last overcome. Most of them stayed with the Aryans. Others sought refuge in lonely mountain ranges, where their descendants have lived to this day.

(b) *Successful Advance.* Once the Dasyus had been defeated, there was no stopping the onward march of the Aryans. Their advance was marked by the establishment of Aryan settlements all over Northern India: first, in the plains of the upper and middle Indus, in the Land of the Five Rivers; next, in the plains of the Ganges; but they never crossed the Vindhya Range in numbers. The land to the north of the Vindhya Range came to be called Aryavarta, the land of the Aryans.

This successful advance was marked by a great political development, and a number of Aryan kingdoms sprang up; among others Panchala between the Jumna and the Ganges, Kosala between the Ganges and the Gogra, with Ayodhya for its capital, Kasi (Banaras), Videha between the Gandak and the Koti in Bihar, Anga east of the Koti, and Magadha south of the Ganges. Originally these kingdoms were mostly just taken over from non-Aryan rulers.

5. Brahmanas and Upanishads. When the Aryans entered India, a great change had already taken place in their religious practices. At first the father of the family had united in his person the triple office of father, warrior and priest. With the formation of the village community, the tribe, and the kingdom, the priestly office had passed into the hands of the Brahmans, whose spiritual influence had become increasingly great and widespread. The Brahmans gradually changed the simple form of early Aryan worship into a complicated sacrificial system. They also introduced new tenets of belief, due to a great extent to the mixture of the Aryan with Indian pre-Aryan cultures. A clear proof of the growing Brahmanic influence is to be found in the Brahmanas and the Upanishads.

The Brahmanas contain directions and regulations for prayer and sacrificial rites, while the Upanishads are learned philosophical treatises. They were not meant for the ordinary people, they were the textbooks of the priestly class. They show the gradual transition from Aryan Raj to Hindu Raj towards 600 B.C. This Hindu Raj was a mixed product made up of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures and races.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was the Vedic Period so called? Give the principal sources of information about the Vedic Period. [1]
2. Write a note about Aryan administration. [2]
3. What do we know about the culture and social customs of the Aryans? [3]
4. Describe the Aryan advance into Northern India. [4(a)(b)]
5. Write a note on the significance of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. [5]
6. Who were the first inhabitants of Northern India? What was their state of civilization? How did their fight with the Aryans begin, and how did it end? What name was given them? [4(a)]

IV. RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND BRAVE CAPTAINS

1. Religious Leaders. (a) *Believers in Karma.*

Among the doctrines unknown to the early Aryans and devised by the Brahmanas, probably under non-Aryan influence, was that of *Karma*, the belief in rebirth according to the Law of Deed. According to this law, the present life is either a reward of the good actions or a punishment of the evil deeds of a past life. Man's life is, therefore, but a link in a series of endless lives, though none of us is conscious of having been either good or bad in a past existence.

(b) *Gautama Buddha.* Gautama was the son of a petty Raja in Southern Nepal. As he grew up, the thought of illness, old age and death, with *Karma* following behind, filled his mind with such anguish that he left his princely home in search of a means of escape from endless misery. After many years of wandering and meditation, he found it. In order to secure freedom from rebirth, man must lead an unselfish life; unselfishness is the way to *Nirvana* or destruction

of all suffering. Thus he became the Buddha or 'the Enlightened'. His death is commonly said to have taken place before 480 B.C.

He had many followers during his lifetime. After his death, with the holding of Great Councils, notably in 240 B.C. and A.D. 120, the Buddhist creed was at first clearly defined, and afterwards split up into various sects. In spite of these differences, Buddhism flourished in India for well-nigh seventeen centuries (500 B.C.-A.D. 1200).



GAUTAMA BUDDHA

Moreover, Buddhism spread far and wide into Eastern Asia, Tibet and China. In China the people looked upon India as the Holy Land of Buddhism; and between A.D. 400

and 700 there were many Chinese pilgrims who came all the way to India to visit the birthplace of Buddhism. Among them Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing were the most famous, because they left behind valuable records of their journeys.

Incidentally it may be remarked that *ahimsa*, which forbids the killing of any living being, was contained in Gautama's teaching, but was given less emphasis than it was in Jainism.

(c) *Jainism: Vardhamana Mahavira.* He lived at about the same time as Gautama Buddha, probably 599-527 B.C. Like Gautama, he was a prince, but

could not find peace in his father's palace. He too went in search of release from rebirth, and found it in self-discipline and self-denial. By practising these, the soul triumphs over the body and reaches a state of bliss in which the divinity that is hidden in man openly shows itself. As the divinity likewise exists in animals and plants, it becomes an evil thing to destroy them. Hence *Ahimsa*, which implies doing no harm to any kind of life, is strictly observed by the Jains.

Vardhamana was given the titles of Mahavira, the great hero, and Jina or the conqueror. His follow-



VARDHAMANA MAHAVIRA

ers were called Jains, and his religious teaching Jainism. However, the Jains themselves do not consider Vardhamana as the founder of their religion; they hold that he was preceded by twenty-three Tirthankars, all of them holy men and prophets. Vardhamana was the last of these great teachers.

Jainism had many followers, but its severity prevented it from being a popular religion.

(d) *The Bhakti Schools.* In Buddhism and Jainism there is no place for the Supreme Being, the Cause of life and man's great Benefactor. But other religious teachers taught differently. They belonged to the Bhakti

Schools and preached loving devotion to a personal God. Bhakti means loving devotion.

In other words, the followers of the Bhakti Schools had in mind the ordinary man, to whom deep philosophical doctrines make little appeal. They, therefore, replaced the abstract idea by the concrete image, and the impersonal or unseen deity by the personal or visible deity. The visible deity became the object of worship in the home and in the temple, it was presented with flowers and other offerings, it was daily honoured and yearly carried round in procession in a decorated car with blazing lights and clashing music.

The Bhakti cult may be traced back to early Vedic times when the people turned to Varuna for forgiveness of sin. 'O Varuna, remove from us our trespasses.... When we violate thy laws, punish us not for that iniquity.' At a later period the worship of Vishnu and Siva contains similar elements of loving devotion, which found its expression in the making of images, shrines and temples.

The Bhakti cult also taught men to love their fellow-beings, to tolerate the opinions of others, and to come to the help of the poor and suffering by means of charitable and benevolent institutions.

This cult appealed to the hearts of men, and it gradually became one of the most notable features of the religious life of the people.

2. Brave Captains. (a) *The Kshatriyas.* The priests were the first to form a special class among the Aryans. Next to them came the men who defended the country. They imitated the example of the Brahmans, formed likewise a class by themselves, and became known as Kshatriyas. The Kshatriyas fought on many a field, and their military achievements are recounted at great length in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

(b) *The Ramayana*. The warlike spirit of the Kshatriyas is described at great length in the Ramayana, which contains seven books of about 24,000 slokas or 48,000 lines. To rescue Sita, his wife, who had been abducted by Ravana, the great King of Lanka (Ceylon), Rama invaded that island, captured his enemy's fortress-town, rescued the beloved Sita, and returned with her to Kosala, where he was crowned king at Ayodhya, the capital. His fighting men shared in their captain's triumph, they came more than ever to form a class by themselves, and looked down on the stay-at-homes who were content to cultivate their fields.

(c) *The Mahabharata*. With the formation of tribes and kingdoms the territory dominated by Aryans became a house divided against itself. This lack of union is described in the Mahabharata, which narrates the struggle for supremacy between rival tribes.

In those days Dhritarashtra reigned in Hastinapura. He was blind, and was merely tolerated as a ruler because his brother, Pandu, had retired to the forest to spend the rest of his days in hunting. It had been agreed that Dhritarashtra should be succeeded not by his own sons but by Pandu's sons, the Pandavas.

After Dhritarashtra's death, his hundred sons, called the Kauravas, tried every means to deprive the Pandavas of the promised succession to the throne; and there followed a country-wide struggle between the cousins of the two royal houses.

The Kauravas were at first successful, but the Pandavas refused to give in. The issue was settled when the opposing forces met on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. For eighteen days the battle raged, and it only ended when the last of the Kauravas had been slain.

The narrative is prodigiously long. The only complete English translation runs to 7,500 pages of small type.

3. Significance of these Epics. As regards the personages figuring in the two epics, it is not easy to determine to what extent they are real or legendary; and the same is true of the deeds attributed to them. Nevertheless these epics indicate the great change which had taken place in Aryavarta. The Nature worship of the early Aryans (by mixture with non-Aryan religions) had given place to a new belief in a number of gods, and the social life of the Aryans was no longer what it had been. Formerly all the Aryans belonged to one and the same class; there were only Aryans and non-Aryans like the Dasyus. Now there were Brahmans and Kshatriyas, while those who were neither priests nor warriors but remained farmers, became known as Vaisyas. There remained the non-Aryans and those Aryans who had contracted marriage alliances with the so-called Sudras. Thus the religion and the social life of the Aryans changed little by little, till Aryan Raj was followed by Hindu Raj.

Undated Indian History came to an end, and Early Indian History began in about 600 B.C.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Gautama Buddha and Buddhism. [1(a)]
2. Write a note on Vardhamana Mahavira. [1(b)]
3. What is meant by the Bhakti Schools? [1(c)]
4. Who were the Kshatriyas, and in what books are their deeds recorded? [2(a)]
5. What is the subject-matter of the Ramayana and of the Mahabharata? [2(b)-(c)]
6. Point out the significance of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. [3]

V. MAGADHAS AND MAURYAS

1. The Ascendancy of Magadha. *Origin.* In the Atharvaveda the Magadhas of the Patna and Gaya Districts are mentioned in a manner which shows that they

were among the most important peoples then known. When tribal units became kingdoms, Magadha was one of them. It was in a flourishing state when Aryan Raj was superseded by Hindu Raj.

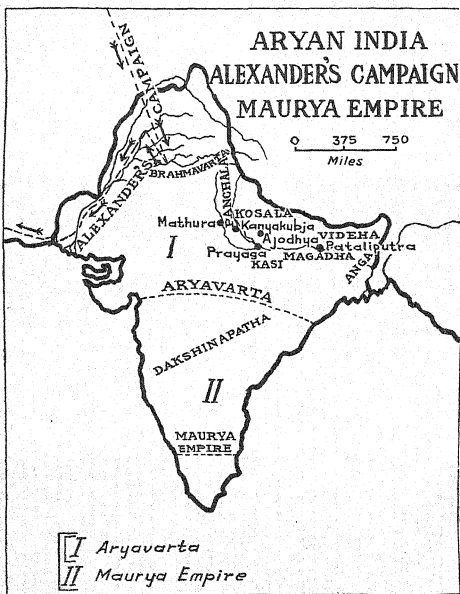
2. The Saisunaga Dynasty. For more than two hundred years the Saisunaga dynasty ruled in Magadha. Very little is known of Sisunaga, the founder of the dynasty, and of his first three successors. But Bimbisara (528-500 B.C.) and Ajatasatru (500-475 B.C.) were famous rulers and the real founders of Magadha's greatness. Bimbisara conquered the kingdom of Anga, and is believed to have built the fortress of Rajagriha, the modern Rajgir. Ajatasatru brought the country lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas under Magadha influence. To preserve the memory of his victories he built the fortress of Pataliputra, the modern Patna.

Ajatasatru's four successors were nobodies of whom very little is recorded. The last of them was dethroned by his minister, Mahapadma Nanda.

3. The Nanda Dynasty. Under the Nandas Magadha continued to be the most important kingdom in Northern India. Kalinga was annexed as far south as the river Godavari.

The Nandas are reputed to have been immensely rich, and they had a great army. But some of them were as unpopular as they were wealthy, and came to be known as the 'unholy Nandas'.

Much of the information about the Nandas that has been handed down to us has little to support it. According to one account there were nine Nandas. Mahapadma was the first, and after him his eight sons ruled in succession. This may have happened, but it is not at all likely. However, one thing is certain—the last of the



Nandas was slain by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire.

4. The Imperial Mauryas. *Foundation of the Maurya Empire.* When the period of Early Indian History came to an end in 326 B.C., Magadha was the most important

Hindu kingdom in Northern India. It became still more important when in 322 B.C. Chandragupta deposed the last member of the Nanda dynasty, and became the founder of the Maurya dynasty and empire.

Three members of this dynasty, Chandragupta, Bindusara and Asoka, were remarkable rulers. The first two had the assistance of a brilliant minister, Kautiliya.

5. Chandragupta (322-297 B.C.) He was a great conqueror and a great administrator.

(a) *The Conqueror.* He defeated the last of the Nandas and Alexander's general Seleukos. During the whole of his reign he waged war to extend the frontiers of his dominions, and was most successful. At his accession, Magadha consisted of the plains of the upper Indus and the Ganges, and the greater part of Orissa and Bihar. Twenty-three years later the Maurya empire extended from the Himalayas to the Narbada, and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

(b) *The Administrator.* He showed his administrative skill in the organization of his army and in the civil administration of the country.

The army: The control of the large fighting forces was in the hands of a well-organized War Office of thirty members, sub-divided into six boards of five members each.

The country: Pataliputra was made the capital, and its civil administration was entrusted to a body of thirty members, divided into six boards of five members each. These boards controlled respectively (a) the workmen, (b) the manufacturers and the traders, (c) the foreigners, (d) the registration of deaths and births, (e) the regulation of trade and commerce, (f) the collection of the municipal taxes.)

The provinces were divided into distant and home pro-

vinces. The former were administered by viceroys, who were usually members of the reigning family; the latter had local governors, more directly under the control of the ruler of the realm.

The farmers were exempted from military service. Irrigation works ensured good crops, while good roads made it easy to dispose of the produce. In return for these advantages they paid one-fourth of their crops as land revenue.

Finally, evil-doers were brought to speedy justice.

6. Bindusara (297-273 B.C.). During his reign of twenty-four years, he followed closely in his father's footsteps, maintained his father's system of administration, and proved himself as great a warrior. He extended the empire further south and conquered the Deccan down to the latitude of Madras.

7. Asoka (273-232 B.C.). He was Bindusara's son, and became the greatest Maurya emperor. At first, he gave proof of the fighting spirit of his family, and began his reign by conquering the kingdom of Kalinga, situated between the Godavari and Mahanadi on the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula. However, the conquest was made at the cost of many lives, and this filled Asoka with such bitter remorse that he resolved to fight no more. He became a follower of Buddhism, and even, it was later said, a royal monk.

(a) *The Law of Piety.* Asoka wanted his subjects to share in the new knowledge he had gained, and so he published the Law of Piety or the right way of living.

The Law of Piety teaches obedience to parents, liberality to friends, relatives and Brahmans, kindness to servants and slaves, self-control, the shunning of evil, and the sanctity of every form of life. Accordingly Asoka forbade the killing of animals, and himself gave up eat-

ASOKA'S KINGDOM

BACTRIA

— Boundary of Kingdom

▲ Asoka's Edicts

0 200
Scale

Purushpura

Taxila

Indus

Ganges

KOSALA

Prayag

Kasi

Pataliputra

Varanasi

MAGADHA

Girnar

Sopara

KALING

Godavari

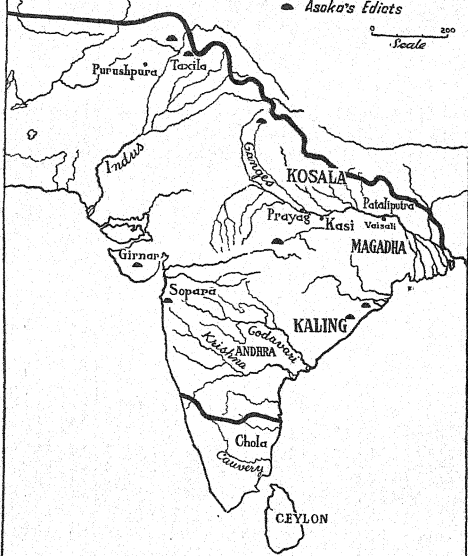
Krishna

ANDHRA

Chola

Cauvery

CEYLON



ing meat, hoping that his subjects would imitate him; but he continued to inflict capital punishment in his dominions.

(b) *Pillar Edicts*. In order that this Law might become known throughout his dominions, Asoka had it engraved, not in the language of the learned, but in that of the common people, on rocks and pillars that stood near places of pilgrimage or on the frequented highway. These inscriptions became known as Asoka's Edicts, and more than thirty of them are still extant.

(c) *Censors*. He also appointed Censors of the Law of Piety, whose duty was to see to it that the ordinary people should not be exploited by the well-to-do; and he enjoined the state officials to set a good example of the observance of the Law in their dealings with the people.

In all this Asoka's object was not to prevent his subjects from following their own religious beliefs, but to make them better men. Yet the result was that Buddhism was raised to the rank of a world religion, becoming known throughout India, and far beyond its borders.

might be clear notes
8. Kautiliya. The minister Kautiliya did a great deal to ensure the greatness of the Maurya empire. He was the trusted counsellor of Chandragupta and Bindusara. He was a very able man, as gifted as any of the rulers of the realm. He left behind him a great book entitled *Arthashastra*, or the Science of Wealth, in which he laid down the principles of civil administration, the duties of the soldiers, of the state officials and of the common people.

Some of the methods he recommended are open to discussion. In order to obtain political success he advised the use of bribery, treachery, deception, underhand dealing and duplicity in accordance with the saying that the

end justifies the means. His teachings were certainly not in keeping with Asoka's Law of Piety.

9. Greek and Roman Influences. (a) *Beginning of Actual History.* It was during the last days of the Nanda dynasty that Alexander the Great marched into India through the Khyber Pass in 326 B.C., the first date in Indian History that is absolutely certain, and marks the beginning of Actual History. Before him two Persian kings had invaded India. Cyrus had waged war in the territories now known as Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Darius had established a Persian province or Satrapy on the right bank of the Indus. Alexander's campaign was on a much larger scale.

(b) *The Campaign.* After crossing the Khyber Pass, Alexander marched eastwards towards the Indus. The great river did not prove a serious obstacle because King Ambhi of Taxila welcomed the invaders, perhaps in order to secure Alexander's help against King Poros, whose kingdom was next to that of Taxila.)

Afterwards, still marching eastwards, Alexander reached the Hydaspes or the Jhelum, where King Poros tried to put a stop to his further advance. But this attempt failed. King Poros was defeated and made a prisoner.

Then Alexander continued his march always in an eastern direction as far as the Hyphasis or the Bias. He would undoubtedly have proceeded farther, but his soldiers insisted on going home. Their leader was therefore forced to retrace his steps till he once more reached the Indus, whence he turned southwards.

Part of his army sailed down the river in 2,000 vessels, and part marched along its banks, till they reached Pattala, situated to the north of the delta of the Indus. From Pattala the land forces marched westwards through Southern Baluchistan on their way to Susa in

Persia, while the Greek fleet sailed along the coast of the Persian Gulf till it reached the mouth of the Euphrates.

(c) *Greek Influence in India.* Alexander's stay in India was not long enough to produce permanent results, and his further designs on the country came to nothing owing to his untimely death in 323 B.C. It is true that in the course of his campaign he started to organize the territories he had conquered. He made friends with King Poros, and even enlarged the latter's kingdom, which now extended from the Jhelum to the Bias, and over which Poros ruled as a Satrap or Provincial Governor. He established other Satrapies in the Punjab and in Sind. But these new institutions did not long outlive the man who created them.

Afterwards Seleukos, one of Alexander's generals, tried to imitate his master and invaded India, but his troops were hurled back by the forces of Chandragupta Maurya. At a later period Demetrios, who ruled in the Greek kingdom of Bactria, situated on either side of the river Oxus, overran Afghanistan, the Punjab and Sind. He was defeated by a rival military leader, who made himself master of the Indian borderland, but whose hold on the interior provinces was doubtful and insecure.

Finally, another border-king, Menander, who belonged to the house of Demetrios, marched right across Northern India, from the western mountains up to the gates of Pataliputra, but his campaign, which opened so successfully, ended in failure. India was never for any long period under the influence of the Greeks.

(d) *Roman Influence in India.* The Romans succeeded no better than the Greeks. India was not included in the great unification of the civilized world by the Roman emperors. At one time there was a considerable mutual trade between India and Rome, and Indo-

Roman gold coins were in current use. But no Roman permanent settlement seems ever to have been made in India.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the origin of Magadha? [1]
2. Write a note on the Saisunaga dynasty and its two great rulers, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. [2]
3. What do we know about the Nanda dynasty? [3]
4. Who was the founder of the Maurya empire, and who were the three Maurya emperors? [4]
5. Show that Chandragupta was a great conqueror and a wise administrator. [5]
6. Bindusara was his father's son. Explain. [6]
7. Write a note on Asoka and explain how he became a monk. [7]
8. How did Asoka spread Buddhism in his empire (the Law of Piety the Pillar Edicts, the Censors of the Law of Piety)? [7(a)-(c)]
9. To whom was the greatness of the Maurya empire especially due? What famous book did he write? Is his book open to criticism? [8]
10. When did Alexander invade India? Give a short account of his campaign. [9(a) (b)]
11. Did the Greeks and the Romans exert a permanent influence on India? [9(c)(d)]

VI. REVIVAL OF BRAHMANISM

1. Decline of Brahmanism. Owing to the rapid spread of Buddhism during Asoka's reign, the Brahmins and their priestly services were in little demand. But this did not last long. Asoka's successors were weak rulers, and fifty years after his death the Maurya empire came to an inglorious end. Then Buddhism lost many of its followers, and Brahmanism regained its lost prestige.

2. Nature of the Revival of Brahmanism. This revival was not a return from the grave, but rather an awakening from slumber. Brahmanism had been kept alive all the while by the extant customary laws (*dharmasutras*), which were codified during this period

under the title of *Manusmriti*, i.e., either the Book of the Laws of Manu or the whole system of Brahmanical laws. These laws, which were wholly Hindu, never ceased to be held in esteem, they continued to a considerable extent to regulate the people's life. As soon as Buddhism was no longer the state religion, Brahmanism at once began to reassert itself.

3. Pushyamitra. The revival of Brahmanism was also partly brought about by Pushyamitra. Unlike Asoka, Pushyamitra was warlike rather than religious. He killed the last Maurya ruler and founded the Sunga dynasty, which lasted about 112 years (185-73 B.C.). After occupying Magadha, he extended his dominions as far south as the Narbada.

During his reign he performed the Horse Sacrifice, in direct opposition to the law of *ahimsa*. On that occasion, a horse was either allowed or compelled to roam over large tracts of country belonging to neighbouring rulers. It was everywhere followed by Pushyamitra's fighting men who claimed the right of grazing for the horse. If this right was refused, it was secured by force of arms; if it was granted, the ruler of that country became Pushyamitra's vassal.

This military campaign went on for one year, at the end of which the horse was sacrificed. In this and other ways Pushyamitra ignored the precepts of Buddhism, and he may truly be said to have been the champion of the Brahmanical revival.

4. The Vikrama and Saka Eras. The rapid decline of Buddhism and the equally rapid revival of Brahmanism are also proved by the coming into use of two great Hindu eras. (An era is a series of years starting from a fixed point, used in reckoning the dates of historical events.)

Shortly after the disappearance of the Sunga dynasty, in 78 B.C., the Vikrama era began to be used in Northern India from the year 58 B.C. onwards. One hundred and twenty years later, in A.D. 78, the Saka era became the basis of historical reckoning in Southern India. By that time Buddhism no longer played an important part in the religious history of the country. Hinduism had once more become the creed of most of the people.

5. Kanishka and Rudradaman. *Invading Tribes.* In the second century before Christ, the Kushans, whose home was in China, began moving westwards. They



SAKA WARRIOR

drove the Sakas from the banks of the Jaxartes, a river that flows into the Aral Sea. The Sakas forced the Parthians or Scythians to make room for them. In course of time Scythians, Sakas and Kushans made their way into India. The consequent state of confusion further weakened the hold of Buddhism, which prospered in peace and not in war.



SAKA COINS

(a) *Kanishka* (A.D. 144). He was the greatest of the Kushan rulers. His kingdom extended from Persia in the west to the Jumna and Chambal in the east, and from the plateau of Pamir in the north to the edge of the Malwa plateau in the south.

It was during his reign that Buddhism underwent great changes. The image of the founder of Buddhism began to be worshipped, and a new form of Buddhism sprang up by the side of the original creed. Gradually Buddhism, old and new, ceased to be the national religion, and Hinduism took its place.

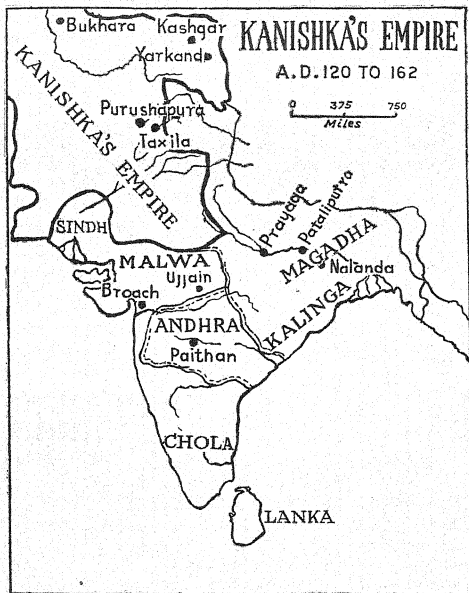


COIN OF KANISHKA

(b) *Rudradaman* (A.D. 130-150). The Kushans had driven the Sakas into India, and afterwards followed them there. Before long, the Kushans and Sakas were fighting together, and though the Kushans were ultimately victorious, the Sakas did not yield at once. In the second century there was a Saka revival under their great Satrap, Rudradaman, whose kingdom extended from the Konkan in the south to Sind and Marwar in the north.

In this case also, the long struggle for survival between the Kushans and the Sakas did not benefit the cause of Buddhism; and when the rule of the Satraps came to an end in the fourth century Buddhism was no longer

the religion of the masses. There were still large numbers of Buddhist worshippers, but they were no longer



territorially united, and formed dispersed units; every trace of state protection had disappeared.

6. General Review. The Dasyus were aborigines,

and perhaps also the Dravidians. The original home of the people of Mohenjo-Daro is not known. The Aryans were invaders, and so were the Scythians, Sakas and Kushans.

The Aryans were cattle-breeders and farmers, hunters and warriors. In course of time they occupied the whole of Northern India, and became a great nation by the scattered villages uniting into tribes, and the tribes into kingdoms.

The gradual formation of kingdoms led to great changes. Faction fights arose. The father of the family had long ceased to be a priest and a warrior. The priestly office had been assumed by the Brahmans, who gradually changed the Nature worship of the Aryans into a complicated sacrificial rite. The fighting was done by the Kshatriyas. This great change is recorded in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, but as having taken place in the distant past.

Among the kingdoms that arose, the most famous was Magadha, where various dynasties held sway: the Saisunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas.

For a time the influence of the Brahman priesthood was challenged, seriously by Buddhism, to a lesser extent by Jainism; but in the end Brahmanism triumphed and with it Hinduism, which towards A.D. 400 was much in the same position in which Buddhism had been during Asoka's reign in the third century B.C.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a brief note on what is meant by the decline and revival of Brahmanism. [1, 2]
2. What part did Pushyamitra play in the revival of Brahmanism? [3]
3. What is the significance of the Vikrama and Saka eras? [4]
4. How did Buddhism fare when the Scythians, Sakas and Kushans invaded India, and specially during the reigns of Kanishka, and of Rudradaman? [5(a)-(b)]
5. Write a note on Brahmanism. [1-5]

PERIOD II (A. D. 320-1200)

I. THE GUPTAS

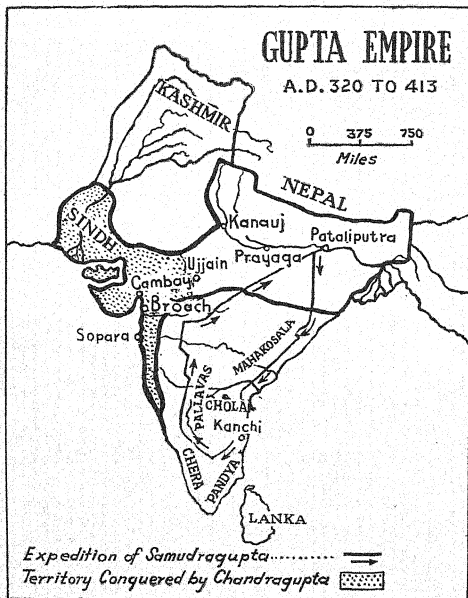
1. Rise of Gupta Power. The collapse of the Maurya empire was followed by widespread confusion for a period of about 500 years (184 B.C.-A.D. 320). During that time India was divided into little kingdoms, where petty princes reigned. There was no great Indian kingdom, no great Indian ruler. The country was overrun by the fighting men of the Greek generals, Demetrios and Menander; and it was likewise the victim of successive invasions by nomadic pastoral tribes, the Scythians, the Sakas and the Kushans.

2. Chandragupta I (320-326). He started life as a local Raja, one among many. But while other princes led an aimless life, Chandragupta was bent on winning fame. His marriage with a princess of the Lichchhavi family helped him to become influential in Magadha. He made friends with the other princes, or conquered them; and at last he became the founder of the Gupta empire, which during his reign comprised the country on either side of the Ganges between Pataliputra and Allahabad. He reigned for six short years, but long enough to become known as Maharajadhiraja, the Sovereign of Maharajas.

3. Samudragupta (326-375). He proved himself a great warrior and a man of many accomplishments.

(a) *The Warrior.* He inherited the family's fighting spirit, and he fought successfully to extend the boundaries of his dominions. Towards the end of his reign, the Gupta empire comprised the plain of the Ganges from the Brahmaputra to the Jumna and the Chambal, and from the mountains of Nepal to the river Narbada.

His most remarkable military achievement was his southern campaign, a deed of great military daring. Setting out from Pataliputra, he marched southwards along the eastern coastline of the Indian Peninsula, defeating on his way the rulers of Kosala, Kurala and Pishtapura,



of Vengi and Kanchi. He went as far south as Palakka, then marched due north to Erandapalla or Kandesh, leaving behind him conquered territories and vanquished rulers. From Erandapalla he made his way back towards the capital. After his return home he is said to have revived the Horse Sacrifice to celebrate his victory. The exact date of his death is not known, but it was some time between 370 and 380.



COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

(b) *Personal Accomplishments.* Samudragupta won renown not only as a warrior but as an artist in music and song; he was a fine harp-player. In the famous Allahabad Pillar-Inscription he is called the Prince of Poets. He delighted in gathering learned men around him.)

4. Chandragupta II (375-413). He is better known as Vikramaditya, the Sun of Power, a title which he assumed during his lifetime, and which is given him to this day. He was a great warrior, a wise administrator, and a highly cultured man.



COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

(a) *The Warrior.* Like his father and his grandfather, he was a successful military leader.

By the end of his reign the Gupta empire stretched from the Himalayas to the Narbada, and from the mouth of the Hooghly to the Jamna and Chambal. In the west he added

Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar to his dominions, in the east he occupied the south-western plain of Bengal, and by gaining possession of the seacoast opened to his subjects new commercial fields for the export and import of goods.

(b) *The Administrator.* It has been said that no Indian ruler governed his country so well as Vikramaditya. Farmers were protected, merchants could travel about without danger, officials were regularly paid, the country was free from brigandage and oppression. There were rest-houses along the roads, and in Pataliputra there was even a free hospital for the ailing.

(c) *A Highly Cultured Man.* He has been identified with Bikram of Ujjain, at whose court the 'Nine Gems' of Sanskrit literature are believed to have lived. This idea is rejected by some modern scholars, because one or the other of those Sanskrit writers did not belong to Vikramaditya's times. But this objection is scarcely serious. It is not necessary to hold that all the 'Nine Gems' flourished at Vikramaditya's court. The phrase need not be taken literally. It really means that Vikramaditya was a patron of learning and the friend of poets and artists.

5. Other Gupta Rulers. Of the later Gupta rulers, the first two, Kumaragupta (413-455) and Skandagupta (455-480), were worthy members of their dynasty. But Skandagupta's successors were not strong men, and not so able as their predecessors had been. In the hour of the Gupta empire's dire need, they were unable to defend their dominions against the invasions of the savage and warlike Huns. Little by little the Gupta empire fell to pieces.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an idea of the extent of the Gupta empire under the reign of the first three emperors. [2, 3(a), 4(a)]

2. Show that the first three Gupta rulers were great warriors. [2, 3(a), 4(a)]
3. Justify the statement that Samudragupta may be called the Indian Napoleon. [3(a)]
4. Show that Chandragupta II was the best of them all, as a warrior, an administrator, and a patron of learning. [4(a)-(c)]

II. GUPTA RENAISSANCE

1. Meaning of the Phrase. The word 'Renaissance' means rebirth or revival. It is commonly used in history to designate the well-known though ill-defined period in the social and intellectual development of Europe, between the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, more or less (1450-1550). The phrase 'the Gupta Renaissance' is here used in the same sense to denote the progress made in many branches during the Gupta Age.)

2. Literary Development. (a) *Sanskrit.* During the Gupta Age the Sanskrit language reached a very high degree of perfection, which has remained unsurpassed.

The early Aryans spoke the language on which the Rig-Veda is based. In course of time, as the Aryan conquerors mixed with the vastly superior numbers of the conquered, this language underwent great changes, and a number of popular dialects, derived from it, gradually sprang up.

However, the Vedic language, in a slowly modified form, continued to be used by the members of the Brahman priesthood; and as the latter's influence increased, they made it a point to perfect the language of their culture. Their endeavours bore fruit during the Gupta Age, when the Vedic language and the variations derived from it were unified into classical or polished Sanskrit, along the lines laid down centuries before by the famous grammarian Panini.

(b) *Literary Works.* The Gupta Age became famous for its literary productions. Kalidasa, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, wrote *Sakuntala*, ranking among 'the hundred best books of the world'. Other great writers of the period were: Visakhadatta, Sudraka, Bharavi, Dandin, Subandhu and Amarasimha. They treated a variety of subjects: love-stories, warlike achievements, heroic adventures, and simple stories that have become known all the world over (the *Panchatantra*). One of them even compiled a dictionary, which afterwards became the subject-matter of many commentaries.)

3. The Puranas. These are likewise a literary production of the Gupta Age. There are eighteen of them. They are voluminous studies on every possible subject in the field of mythology, history, philosophy, and sacred law. The important point to be borne in mind is that they were written for the instruction of the unlettered classes. They are a conclusive proof that the whole population had become a part of the Brahmanic society. Thus a great social reorganization had taken place. Brahmanic culture had been extended to Greater India. Buddhism, steadily losing ground, had been replaced by Hinduism, both with the rulers and with the common people. This decline was made very evident by the performance of the Horse Sacrifice by one of the Gupta emperors.)

4. The Golden Age. As has already been stated, there was such a great literary output during the Gupta Period that it has become known as the Golden Age of Sanskrit Literature.

But progress was not limited to literature only. A general impulse was given to many other branches of science. For example during, the Gupta Age the sciences of mathematics and astronomy were widely

studied, whilst the fine arts, architecture and sculpture, painting and music had also many followers.

At the same time the country was prosperous as it had never been before. The Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, has left us an impressive picture of the glories of the Gupta empire. He visited large towns and many villages, and saw everywhere a happy and prosperous people. They were not crushed by taxation, they were not harassed by state interference. In the words of Fa-Hien: "People have not to attend to any magistrates and rules". In the villages they lived their own simple lives without having to follow a multitude of imperial rules and regulations.

The *panch* was the time-honoured village council which looked after the welfare of the villagers. Frequent mention is made in the Laws of Manu of the *Sreni* and the *Gana*, and these seemed to have flourished in the Gupta times. They were guilds or associations of merchants and husbandmen, of artisans and actors; and they wielded a good deal of local authority. In cases of serious crime the evil-doers were handed over to the Central Government for punishment.

Fa-Hien also states that he benefited by the numerous rest-houses built along the high-roads, and he mentions the existence of a free hospital richly endowed by the charitable and wealthy citizens of the capital, Pataliputra. He gratefully records that he was never molested in the course of his long and lonely travels; the roads were free from brigandage. He returned home with a host of happy memories of his sojourn in India.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the literary greatness of the Gupta Age. [2(a)-(b)]
2. Write a note on the *Puranas* and their religious and social significance. [3]
3. Show that the Gupta Age may rightly be called the Golden Age, not only as regards literature [2], but also in many other respects. [4]

III. DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. Destruction. The destruction of the Gupta empire was to a large extent the work of the White Huns.

(a) *Whence the Huns came.* The Huns had their home east of the Altai Mountains in Northern Mongolia. They were a nomadic race, always on the move; they lived in tents, in wagons, and on horseback. They were fierce men and reckless riders.

(b) *Their Wanderings.* When their attempt to invade China had been defeated, they turned westwards and rode all the way to the northern edge of the Caspian Sea. There they split into two groups: the Western Huns and the White Huns.

The Western Huns continued going westwards. They crossed the Volga and the Don, followed the Danube to its source, and never rested till they had crossed the Rhine and penetrated to the very heart of France. They were utterly defeated in the plain of Chalons on the river Marne.

The White Huns travelled southwards, stayed for some time in the fertile region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and at last made their way through the north-western mountain passes into India. They came to be called the White Huns, not because they were in any way different from the Western Huns, but because they were fairer in colour than the races of the more southern countries they invaded.

(c) *Break-up of the Gupta Empire.* There was nothing to stop their advance. Skandagupta, the last great Gupta ruler, had died in 480, and his death was apparently the signal for the general dismemberment of the Gupta empire.

When the White Huns came, they had no difficulty in occupying a large part of Northern India to the river

Jumna in the east and to the Narbada in the south. Hun princes ruled in the Punjab, in Malwa, in Valabhi or Kathiawar, and elsewhere.

East of the Jumna, Northern India was broken up into different small states, of which Magadha was one, where Gupta princes continued to rule.

(d) *The End of their Empire.* About the year 528 the Hun prince, Mihiragula, whose capital was Sakala in the Punjab, was defeated by a confederacy of Hindu princes under the leadership of the ruler of Magadha. But the power of the Huns was only weakened by this, not destroyed. Its final destruction took place some forty years later between 560 and 570, when the Persians with the assistance of the Turks overthrew the empire at its headquarters in the Oxus valley.

2. Reconstruction. The reconstruction which followed was the work of Harsha of Thanesar.

(a) *State of India.* After the downfall of the White Huns not a trace remained of the former glories of the Gupta empire. The part of India west of the Jumna and north of the Narbada had been burned and ravaged and its inhabitants plundered and massacred by the Huns. The remaining part east of the Jumna was broken up into a number of rival states ruled by petty Rajas; it was a house divided against itself, till at last, about the year 606, another strong man appeared, Harshavardhana.

(b) *Raja of Thanesar (606-647).* Harsha's accession to the throne illustrates the unhappy state of India in those days. His father, Prabhakaravardhana, had profited by the break-up of the Gupta empire to found a little independent state between the Sutlej and the Jumna with Thanesar for its capital. After his death, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Rajyavardhana.

Shortly afterwards, the latter's brother-in-law, the ruler of Kanauj, on the upper Ganges, was treacherously slain by the Raja of Malwa in league with the King of Gaura in Central Bengal. Thereupon Rajya declared war against Malwa, and defeated its ruler, but was murdered by his vanquished enemies. Harsha now became Raja of Thanesar.

(c) *King of Kanauj.* Harsha had no sooner become Raja of Thanesar than he started military operations against his brother's murderers. He defeated the rulers of Malwa and Gaura and became King of Kanauj. This first victory was only the beginning of his military career. He continued to wage war in order to extend the boundaries of his growing dominions, and the kingdom of Kanauj at last stretched from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea and from the Himalayas to the Narbada line. Harsha succeeded in well-nigh restoring the old frontiers of the Gupta empire.

(d) *The Administrator.* Harsha was not only a successful warrior but also a capable administrator. He looked after the welfare of his people, closely watched the doings of officials and ministers, and frequently visited the different parts of his kingdom. He did not overtax the farmers, from whom he claimed one-sixth of the produce of their fields. He put down brigandage and built roads and rest-houses; traders and travellers were not molested on their journeys.

(e) *Religious Belief.* Like Asoka, Harsha was a follower of Buddhism, and there is no doubt about his zeal and earnestness in religious matters. But he did not impose his own creed on others. The great religious festival, known as the Conference of Kanauj, which he held in 643, was attended by twenty kings, 1,000 scholars, 3,000 Buddhist monks, and 3,000 Brahmans. Though he favoured Buddhism, he was not opposed to Brahmanism;

and he seems to have worshipped Buddha, the Sun and Siya.

(f) *The Scholar.* Harsha was himself a man of letters and wrote three dramas in Sanskrit. He delighted in having scholars around him at his court. Various educational establishments were founded in his kingdom. In the forests there were *asramas* frequented by Buddhists, Brahmins and Jains, who lived there in harmony while they pursued their respective studies. There were also famous centres of learning, as, for example, the University of Valabhi in Gujarat, and the still more celebrated University of Nalanda, near Rajgir, about 50 miles from Gaya. The Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, who resided for ten years at Nalanda, states that the number of students exceeded three thousand, that instruction was imparted in eight halls, and that there were three hundred other rooms. One thousand representatives of Nalanda were present at the Kanauj Conference in 643.

3. Prominent Men. The names of three men deserve to be recorded: Pulakesin II, Bana and Hiuen Tsang.

(a) *Pulakesin II.* He was a member of the Badami dynasty in the Bijapur District. He is notable for having successfully withstood Harsha's attempts to extend his kingdom to the south of the Narbada. The exact date of the conflict between Harsha and Pulakesin II is under discussion; it may have taken place in 612 or in 620. What seems beyond doubt is that Harsha was defeated and was forced to accept the Narbada as the southern frontier of his dominions. This was Harsha's only failure on the battlefield.

(b) *Bana.* He flourished in the seventh century, and was the author of the *Harshacharita* (The Deeds of Harsha), a history of Harsha in eight chapters. Though his work is half history and half romance, it is never-

theless acknowledged by all as a valuable source of information. There are passages in it which illustrate and complete Hiuen Tsang's traveller's journal. It is written in highly imaginative language.

For example, the following is Bana's picture of Harsha's closing days: "Helplessness had taken him in hand, pain had made him its province, lassitude its haunt. He was on the confines of death...broken in utterance, unhinged in mind, babbling in speech, ceaseless in sighs, vanquished by yawning, swayed by sufferings, in the bondage of racking pains."

The great Harsha passed away in 647, when he was about 57 years old.

(c) *Hiuen Tsang*. He was one of the most famous Chinese pilgrims, who set out from China in 629, and only returned home in 645, after an absence of sixteen years. He spent eight of these years in Harsha's kingdom, and left behind an account of all he saw there during his stay. In his journal he speaks of Harsha himself, of his administration and of the condition of the people. His account is greatly superior to Bana's *Harshacharita*.



HIUEN TSANG

4. **The Chinese Pilgrims.** From India Buddhism spread to Tibet and China, and great was the veneration in which Gautama Buddha was held in those remote eastern countries. There the people came to look upon India as the Holy Land of Buddhism. Between the years 400 and 700 numerous Chinese pilgrims travelled all the way from the banks of the river Hoang-Ho in a western direction, right across the southern desert of

Gobi, whence they passed through Chinese Turkestan, till at last they came to Kashgar, north of the Pamir Plateau. Next, they made their way across the high mountains towards the river Kabul, when the end of their journey was within easy reach. Any of them might be six years on the road before he set foot in India.

Among these pilgrims the most famous were: Fa-Hien, who started his travels in 399 and visited Pataliputra and Magadha; Hiuen Tsang, who left China in 629 and wrote an account of Harsha's India; I-tsing, who became a pilgrim in 671, resided ten years at Nalanda, and wrote a famous 'Record of the Buddhist Religion'. But these three are not the only ones of note. More than sixty of the Chinese pilgrims have left us their own written records of their experiences. Others, of course, died on the way or in India, or returned home without writing anything down.

The writings that have come down to us are valuable sources of historical information. These Chinese pilgrims were men of culture, and scholars in their own land, and they proved themselves shrewd observers of conditions in India.)

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Huns? Describe the wanderings of the Western Huns and their final defeat, and those of the White Huns and their overthrow. [1(a)-(d)]
2. What was the cause of the break-up of the Gupta Empire? To what state was India reduced, west of the Jumna, and east of the Jumna? [1(c), 2(a)]
3. Show that Harsha's accession illustrates the unhappy state of India in those days. [2(b)]
4. Show that Harsha was a great warrior, a wise administrator, a deeply religious man and a scholar. [2(c)-(f)]
5. What do you know of King Harsha? [2(c)-(f)]
6. What prominent men flourished during Harsha's reign? [3(a)-(c)]
7. Write a note on the Chinese pilgrims. [3, 4]

IV. SOUTHERN KINGDOMS

1. **The Unconquered South.** Peninsular India is separated from Northern India by three parallel mountain ranges; the Vindhya, the Satpura and the Ajanta Ranges, which the Aryans never crossed in numbers.

This is what seems to have happened. In course of time a number of Aryans penetrated in little bands into the Deccan, where they spread Aryan customs and beliefs; but they did not make the Deccan an Aryan land. They themselves became mixed with the people of the South.

It is true that in the third century B.C., during Asoka's reign, the Maurya empire extended to the Nilgiri Hills; but Maurya occupation did not last more than about twenty-five years. Again, about 700 years later, in the fourth century A.D., Samudragupta's South Indian campaign was still less productive of lasting results: hard-riding fighting men came and went without even making an attempt at settling in the country. Afterwards, in the seventh century, Harsha of Kanauj tried to extend his kingdom southwards, but he was defeated by Pulakesin II of Badami, and had to accept the Narbada as the boundary line of his empire. Thus Peninsular India continued to live its own life. It was influenced no doubt by Aryan ideas, but, for all that, it was not Aryan, but Dravidian land: The Unconquered South!

2. **Early Kingdoms.** When the Aryans invaded Northern India, there were already, south of the Vindhya Range, several kingdoms, at least in the making. Situated south of the Nilgiri Hills, were three Tamil kingdoms: Pandya, Chera or Kerala and Chola. Along the eastern coast spread two other kingdoms: Kalinga between the Mahanadi and the Godavari, and Vengi or Andhra between the Godavari and the Kistna.

The three Tamil kingdoms were not conquered by the rulers of the North. The two coastal kingdoms were occupied by Asoka, but soon afterwards they broke away from the Maurya empire. The Andhra rulers extended their dominions right across the Deccan from sea to sea, and it is said that some of them established their influence in Pataliputra, the famous Magadha capital.

3. Later Kingdoms. The political confusion which prevailed in Northern India did not extend beyond the Vindhya Range. While Northern India was broken up into small kingdoms, ruled over by petty princes, there were half a dozen kingdoms in Southern India. These kingdoms were ruled by: (a) The Western Chalukyas of Badami, (b) The Rashtrakutas, (c) The Chalukyas of Kalyani, (d) The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, (e) The Pallavas, and (f) The Cholas.

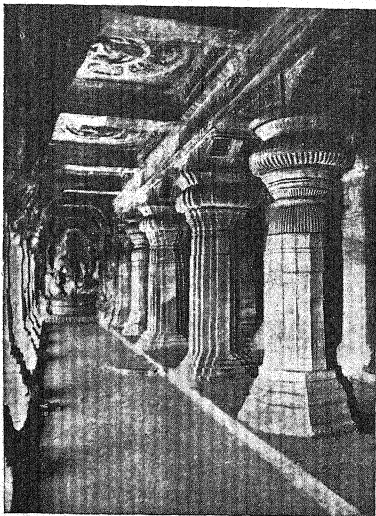
(a) *The Western Chalukyas of Badami* (550-757). Towards the middle of the sixth century, the Chalukyas were the most powerful dynasty in Southern India. Its founder was Pulakesin I, a Rajput chieftain, who had established himself as lord of Vatapi, the modern Badami, in the Bijapur District; and he became the founder of the Badami dynasty, which for two centuries ruled in the Deccan.

His grandson, Pulakesin II (608-642), proved himself as great a military leader as his rival, Harsha of Kanauj, the powerful overlord of Northern India. In fact, he defeated Harsha and prevented him from crossing the Narbada. He ruled over a great part of the Deccan, roughly speaking over the country between the Godavari and the Kistna. He conquered Gujarat, Malwa and Vengi. But his military career came to an inglorious end. In 642 his army was defeated, and Badami was captured by the Pallavas. This was a blow

from which he never recovered, and he died shortly afterwards.

Pulakesin II's successors tried their utmost to make good the loss of power. In the end they succeeded in defeating the Pallavas, but they had become so exhausted that they were overthrown by a rebellious vassal, Dantidurga Rashtrakuta.

(b) *The Rashtrakutas (750-973)*. Their racial origin is



BADAMI CAVES, BIJAPUR

difficult to settle. They are generally regarded as being of aboriginal descent and not invaders. The Rashtrakuta chieftain, Dantidurga, rebelled against his Chalukya master and established a dynasty which for 250 years ruled in the Deccan. The Rashtrakutas were great builders of temples, and it was during their rule that cave-temples were cut from the rock, notably at Ellora.

The Rashtrakutas were overthrown in 973 by Taila II, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani.

(c) *The Chalukyas of Kalyani* (973-1190). Kalyani was a town in the Nizam's dominions, where Taila established himself as lord. He claimed relationship with the Chalukyas of Badami, but his right to do so has been questioned. His dynasty ruled for 200 years in the Bidar District of Hyderabad. He had to defend his newly founded kingdom against the Cholas, and one of his successors defeated the Cholas in the battle of Koppam (on the Kistna near Kolhapur) in 1052. The Chalukya kingdom of Kalyani gradually fell to pieces in the twelfth century.

(d) *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* (611-1000). When the Western Chalukyas of Badami were at the height of their power, Pulakesin II, after having conquered Vengi, appointed his brother, Vishnuvardhana, viceroy of the new frontier province. The viceroy made himself independent and founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas. Towards the year 1000 their country was overrun by the Chola king, Rajaraja the Great, who became their overlord.

(e) *The Pallavas* (400-900). The Early Pallavas were a local tribe, of which mention is made in the famous Deccan campaign of Samudragupta, who defeated the Pallava ruler of Kanchi (Conjeevaram) near Madras. The Later Pallavas were for some time the most important nation in Southern India. They were always at war

with the rulers of neighbouring kingdoms. They invaded Western Chalukya and defeated and killed Pulakesin II in 642.

Thirty-two years later, they were themselves defeated by Pulakesin II's son, and their capital Kanchi was captured. They continued the struggle and were again defeated in 740. From that time onwards Pallava supremacy began to decline, and their power came to an end when the Cholas became supreme in Southern India towards the year 900.

One notable feature of the Pallava supremacy was the rapid growth of Pallava art and architecture in particular. The Seven Pagodas of Mahabalipuram and the temples of Kanchi remain to this day to witness to the greatness of these rulers.

(f) *The Cholas* (860-1310). The Tamil kingdom of the Early Cholas was already in existence in the third century before Christ, in the days of Asoka of Maurya fame (273-232 B.C.). From that time onwards the Cholas ruled in Southern India, but it was not till eleven hundred years later that they became a great dynasty, towards A.D. 860.

The history of the later Cholas is one long continuous struggle with the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Pallavas.

Rajaraja the Great, who ascended the throne in 985, was one of their most powerful rulers. He waged successful wars against the Western Chalukyas of Badami, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and other minor kingdoms. He even conquered and annexed Ceylon, and after a reign of twenty years died the paramount ruler of Southern India.

He was succeeded by four equally warlike rulers. His son, Rajendra I, waged war by sea and by land. His fleet sailed across the Bay of Bengal, and for a time the

Cholas occupied Pegu and the Andaman and Nicobar islands. His army marched northwards and defeated the kings of Bihar and Bengal.

Rajendra's son, Rajadhiraja, was less successful in war. He was defeated and slain on the battlefield of Koppam in 1052 by the Chalukyas of Kalyani. But ten years later his son, Rajendra II, defeated the Chalukyas.

The Chola kingdom continued to flourish till the middle of the thirteenth century when it was gradually dismembered. In the beginning of the fourteenth century (1310) it became the victim of Muslim invasions, and was finally replaced by the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.)

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the Vindhya Range and the Unconquered South. [1]
2. What early Hindu kingdoms existed in the South when the Aryans invaded Northern India? [2]
3. Which later Hindu kingdoms existed in the South, while Northern India was in a state of confusion? [3]
4. What relationship was there between the Western Chalukyas of Badami, the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi? With what other dynasties did these three Chalukya dynasties fight and with what success? [3, (a), (c), (d)]
5. Five Chola rulers were great warriors. Against whom did they fight and with what success? [3 (f)]

V. SPREAD OF HINDUISM

1. Significance of Sanskrit. The words *Sanskrit*, *Brahman* and *Hinduism* are different in meaning: the first stands for a language, the second for a man, the third for a religious belief. But during this period of Indian history, *Sanskrit*, *Brahman* and *Hinduism* were inseparably united; and where the first flourished, the other two prospered. The growth of Sanskrit illustrates, therefore, the influence of the Brahmans and the spread

of Hinduism; it also indicates indirectly the decline of Buddhism.

(a) *During the Gupta Period.* The Gupta Age was famous for its literary development. The Sanskrit language attained to a high degree of perfection, and a number of great literary works were produced. [See II. 2, (a)-(b), 3.] This is a clear proof of the spread of Hinduism.

(b) *During Harsha's Reign.* Though Harsha was a follower of Gautama Buddha, he did not oppose Hinduism. During his reign the two religions lived side by side in harmony, as did the Brahman priests and the Buddhist monks, either in the forest *asramas* or at the University of Nalanda. Though a Buddhist university, Nalanda was a centre of Sanskrit learning, where the Vedas were studied by the members of the Brahman priesthood.

Apparently Buddhism occupied the first place, but its precedence over Brahmanism was rather a matter of social formality, not one of real superiority. For example, as has already been mentioned, the Conference of Kanauj was attended by 3,000 Buddhist monks and 3,000 Brahman priests. There were also present 1,000 representatives of the Nalanda University, followers either of Buddhism or of Brahmanism. On the first day the image of Buddha received honours of the highest class; on the second and third day the images of the Sun and of Siva were respectively worshipped in public, though with less ceremonial.

Once more it is the flourishing state of the Sanskrit language in those days and the influence of the members of the Brahman priesthood that are sure signs of the spread of Hinduism.

(c) *In Southern India.* Hinduism was the common religion of the people during this period, while Buddhism was never followed by the many.

(d) *After Harsha's Death (650-800).* Hinduism gained a steadily growing number of followers. Its spreading influence was partly due to the writings and teachings of philosophers and religious leaders. Among these Sankaracharya was the most famous.

2. Sankaracharya. No name is better known in the history of Brahmanic philosophy, and his doctrine has exercised a greater influence than any other. For all that, he is something of a legendary figure, and the available sources of information about his life are not reliable.



SANKARACHARYA

(a) *Birth.* It is now generally admitted that he belongs to the post-Gupta period. He was probably born at Kaladi in Malabar in the year 789. Some say that he died in the year 820, before completing his thirty-second year. But others are of opinion that he lived much longer, and that the year 820 is the date of his great renouncement of the world—death in another sense. Nobody really knows.

(b) *Object in Life.* His great object in life was the revival of the system of religion or rather philosophy based on the Upanishads. For this purpose he wrote many works and carried on controversies all over India. He established four monasteries or seats of religion at the four ends of India: at Sringeri in Mysore in the south; at Dwarka in Kathiawar in the west; at Puri in Orissa in the east; and at Badrinath in the Himalayas in the north.

Though his chief title to fame rests on his philosophical

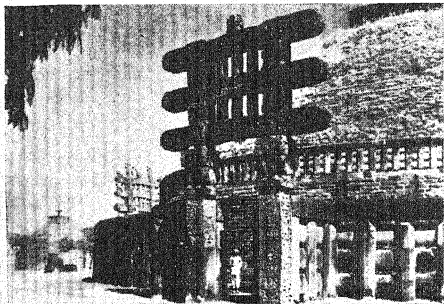
works, he played an important part in changing the Hindu system of belief. He spread the belief in the unreality of the visible world and in an invisible deity, which alone was real. In this matter he entirely rejected the Buddhist teaching of Nirvana. His writings and teachings brought about the triumph of Hinduism and the consequent decline of Buddhism.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the significance of the development and growth of the Sanskrit language in Northern India? [1]
2. Describe the spread of Hinduism in Northern India during the Gupta Age and the reign of Harsha of Kanauj. [1(a)-(b)]
3. Write a note on Sankaracharya. [2]

VI. ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

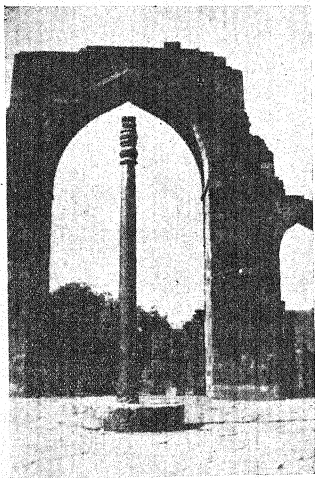
1. In Gupta Days. It has been said that the three allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting attained



SANCHI STUPA

great perfection in the Gupta Age. But the invasions of the Huns and the Muslims caused a widespread destruction of temples and public buildings and of the statues and paintings they contained.

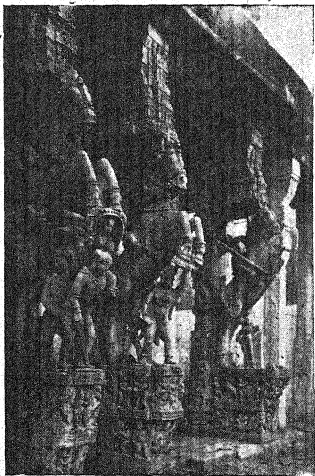
However, temples were spared here and there; among them the temple at Deogarh, near Jhansi, and that of Garhwa, near Allahabad. Elsewhere excavations have led to the discovery of a number of statues, notably statues of Buddha. From these scanty remains modern



IRON PILLAR, DELHI

artists have formed the opinion that the Guptas were master builders in stone.

They were also expert metal-workers, and the Delhi Iron Pillar, made in the time of Samudragupta, is a marvel of skill. The same may be said of a copper statue of Buddha about 7 feet high found at Sultanganj near Bhagalpur and still to be seen in the Museum in Birmingham. It dates from the reign of Chandragupta II.



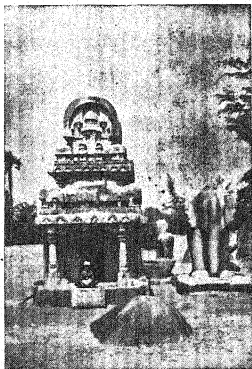
SRIRANGAM TEMPLE

Finally, the paintings in the Ajanta Caves are world-famous for their artistic merit. It has been said that

they represent the highest peak which genuine Indian art has ever attained.

2. During Harsha's Reign. The few monuments of Harsha's days that escaped destruction do not differ from those of the Gupta Age. Hiuen Tsang describes in his writings the temples and the monasteries built during Harsha's reign: and it would seem that his workmen in stone and in metal were in no way inferior to those of the Gupta Age. A colossal copper statue of Buddha eighty feet high was erected at Nalanda, while the temple at Sirpur, in the Rajpur District of the Central Provinces, "was one of the most beautiful shrines in all India, unsurpassed in the richness and refinement of its ornament". It is said to have been built while Harsha was king of Kanauj.)

3. In the Southern Kingdoms. South of the Vindhya Range, India's workmen were as skilled as in Northern India. In course of time they became the most famous temple-builders in the country. Towards the beginning of the seventh century, shortly after the year 600, the Pallavas built at Mahabalipuram the wonderful *Rathas* or Seven Pagodas, on the seashore south from Madras. The beautiful temples of Kanchi are



ONE OF THE RATHAS

of a later date and were built in the beginning of the eighth century. The Pallava school of architecture and sculpture has been unequalled by any other, either in the South or in the North.

What is more, the work of the Pallavas was enduring, and at a later date the period of Chola art is the continuation of that of Pallava times. One interesting feature of the architecture and culture of the South is that it is entirely home-made, without being in any way influenced from without.

4. General Review. (a) *Ups and Downs.* The lifetime of a nation is not like that of an individual. When an individual meets with disaster, he is possibly ruined for life. It is not so with nations: they have their ups and downs, prosperity is followed by adversity, and adversity is in its turn replaced by prosperity.

(b) *Cause of these Changes.* The changes from good to bad are at times due to outside causes. This was the case in India after the Gupta period and after King Harsha's reign, when first the Huns and afterwards the Muslims invaded India. However, it must be borne in mind that this change may also be due to internal causes. The disappearance of a strong and energetic ruler is often followed by the break-up of his kingdom. The Huns swept away the Gupta empire because the Gupta rulers had become weak men who could no longer defend their own country. The same happened after the death of Harsha. Because of the absence of a strong ruler, his kingdom became divided into a number of little states where petty princes reigned.

(c) *Prosperity versus Adversity.* The wonder is that the dark days of this period of Indian history are almost forgotten because of the glory of the bright years. The Gupta Age is without equal for its great rulers and its

literary glory; it has been called a Golden Age. Much the same may be said of the one-man kingdom of Harsha of Kanauj who, from a petty Raja at Thanesar, became the founder of an extensive kingdom, so that he practically restored the old frontiers of the Gupta empire; he proved himself not only a warrior but also a wise administrator, a profound scholar, and a generous patron of learning.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that architecture, sculpture and painting flourished during the Gupta Age, during Harsha's reign, and also in the kingdoms of the South. [1-3]
2. Account for the ups and downs during this period of Indian history and show that the bright years of prosperity are not dimmed by the dark days of adversity. [4(a)-(c)]

PERIOD III—MEDIEVAL INDIA (700-1818)

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1. **Meaning.** The period between ancient and modern times is called the Middle Ages in European history, and Medieval India in Indian history.

2. **Duration.** It is difficult to say exactly when this period began and when it ended. In European history the two dates usually given are 473 and 1543. In Indian history the medieval period starts with the break-up of Harsha's empire in about the year 700. Its closing date is a matter of opinion. Some historians end it in 1500 with the coming of the earliest European settlers, others in about 1740 when the Mughul empire was rapidly declining, still others in 1818, the year of the downfall of the Marathas.

3. **Characteristics of the Middle Ages.** They were feudalism, chivalry and religious intolerance.

Feudalism was a form of social organization based on the way in which the people were connected with the land. The landowners, whether kings or nobles, were called feudal lords or suzerains; those who held the land from these owners were called tenants or vassals. Feudalism flourished in the Middle Ages, but it died out long before that period ended.

Chivalry was the knightly system of the Middle Ages with its religious, moral and social code. The ideal knight made it a rule to defend the weaker party and was always ready to fight in defence of women.

Religious intolerance was widespread in the Middle Ages, when people were often cruelly persecuted for their religious beliefs. But historians have often been

too harsh in their condemnation of that period on that account. Intolerance and persecution were not peculiar to the Middle Ages. Before them the Roman emperors fiercely persecuted the Christians, and after them there was bitter religious enmity all over Europe. In recent times, Soviet Russia is trying its utmost to wipe out Christianity and every other form of religious worship in all the countries which it has brought under its sway. Religious intolerance was not a special feature of the Middle Ages; it is to be found in every period of western history.

4. Medieval Indian History. Some of the characteristics of the Middle Ages may also be found in Medieval Indian History, because history repeats itself. But it is not on that account that this period has been called thus. This name has been given to it, because it is a convenient title under which can be grouped the events belonging neither to the distant past nor to more recent times. Medieval means 'pertaining to the Middle Ages', or the period between Ancient and Modern History.)

II. THE RAJPUTS

1. Rajput Feudalism and Chivalry. The social organization of the Rajputs was more or less feudal, somewhat like feudalism in the West. The Rajputs were divided into tribes or clans, and several clans formed a principality. At the head of the principality was the chieftain, who often claimed to be of royal descent, and was not unlike the feudal lord or the suzerain of the West. Those who followed the chieftain's leadership were like the feudal vassals, who owed allegiance or service and obedience to their lord or suzerain.

Moreover, the chief tenants in the West, the nobles, the barons and the knights, were great fighting men.

At times they fought against their suzerain, or took their own private armies to fight on his side in foreign wars; at other times they fought among themselves; and at all times they indulged in warlike pastimes, and showed their skill in tournaments and other feats of arms. In this respect the Rajputs resembled them; they were equally warlike and chivalrous.

2. Origin of the Rajputs. (a) *Successors of the Kshatriyas.* It is after the break-up of Harsha's empire that the Rajputs make their first appearance in Indian history. Among many others who then formed little kingdoms, the Rajputs occupied the first place for 400 years and more (700-1100). They became the Kshatriyas of Medieval Indian History.

(b) *Who they were.* They probably belonged originally to one or other of the bands of foreign invaders who made their way into India as conquerors. They had no common ancestor, and some may have descended from the Parthians, others from the Sakas, and others still from the Kushans, and perhaps even from the Huns. In course of time they adopted Indian customs and became members of the Indian community. In India the conquerors often ended in being conquered by the land itself.

But all of them had one common characteristic, their warlike spirit; and, wherever an outstanding military leader arose, these men were sure to gather round him in great numbers. In this manner were formed the Rajput clans by their people's culture and customs.

3. Rajput Clans. There never was such a thing as a great and undivided Rajput State. As has been said, several clans formed a principality. These principalities were as a rule under the sway of men who claimed to be of royal descent, and at one time there were as many as

thirty-six royal races. The principalities were independent units and were often divided amongst themselves by disputes and dissensions. Yet in spite of their divisions and the continual waging of war, there was among them a similarity of customs which has sometimes been called the Rajput clan-life.



A RAJPUT WARRIOR

4. Rajput Clan-life. (a) *The Rajput Men.* The Rajput men were born soldiers, who became widely known for their bravery and chivalry. Their loyalty to their chieftain was proverbial, and they were ready to die on the battlefield in his cause. Their loyalty was equalled by their bravery. There were two things which a Rajput never thought of giving up: his horse and his sword. They were exceptionally good riders and

every Rajput sat on his horse like a statue and rode like the wind. Nor did they fail to give a good account of themselves in actual battle.

Their warlike spirit showed itself in their pastimes. Every year they celebrated the spring hunt, and on this occasion the reckless riders, with lance and sword, pursued the game with such eagerness that the ground was often covered with the blood of stricken boars, wounded horses and disabled riders. They also indulged in games which called for every kind of skilful horsemanship, and in this art they were without rivals.

(b) *The Rajput Women.* The birth of a daughter was not celebrated by the members of the family with special rejoicings, and it would seem that the practice of female infanticide—the putting to death of newly born girls—was not uncommon. But this does not mean that the women who survived were inferior to the men; they wielded a great influence, and if the Rajput lord was the master of his stronghold, his wife was the queen of his household.

There are many instances on record of their warlike spirit. It happened more than once that, when the husband returned from the battlefield whence he had been forced to flee after having fought bravely, he found his castle gates shut against him, and was met by a messenger from his angry wife, sent to tell him ‘that she had no longer a husband, that her husband must needs be dead; for that her husband could not possibly have been so cowardly as to seek safety in flight’. The Rajput women were as brave and chivalrous as the men.

Moreover, the married women were passionately devoted to their husbands. When her husband died, his widow no longer cared to live, and no one can tell the number of Rajput women who, without a sign of fear, ascended the funeral pyre and died as *Satis*.

(c) *Rajput Men and Women.* Neither the men nor the women hesitated to face death rather than surrender to the foe. On such an occasion, all the members of the clan determined to do and die as Rajputs. The men made up their mind to die on the battlefield after inflicting the greatest possible losses on their foe. But before the men donned the yellow robe in which they would fight to the bitter end, the women, all of them, chose death rather than survival with dishonour. When the Rajput stronghold of Chitoor was about to fall, the whole womanhood of the doomed fortress-town marched into an underground cave, chanting their own funeral dirge: queens and servant-maids, old dames and little girls. The doors were closed upon them, and inside the flames did their awful work.

5. Social Customs. Among the Rajputs the eating of opium together seems to have been the most inviolable pledge of friendship, so opium was commonly used on the occasion of friendly visits between members of different families. Between young men and young women the most lasting of friendships usually began with the gift of a bracelet. On the occasion of the *Rakhi*, or the Festival of the Bracelet, a young woman used to send a bracelet to a favoured young man, whom she wished to adopt as a brother. The acceptance of the gift gave the young woman claims and privileges superior to those of family relationship, brotherhood included.

As regards the training of their sons, the Rajput never forgot that his boys were destined to become warriors. Before the lads were strong enough to wield the sword, they practised with toy scimitars on the heads of goats and lambs and kids; and when they killed their first wild animal, they were congratulated and feasted by all the members of the household. Thus the boys grew up,

till at the end they were able to accomplish the cherished dream of every Rajput, till they could bury their arrow to the feather either in an earthen target or in a fleeing buffalo.

6. Rajput Principalities. The Rajputs spread with wonderful rapidity, and before long they were found everywhere from the Indus to Bihar. They first settled in Rajputana; next they occupied the Punjab; afterwards they penetrated to Kashmir, and from 700 to 1100 they were the paramount power in India, so that this may rightly be called the Rajput Period.

The extent of their power may be gathered from the fact that James Tod, the classical historian of Rajasthan, mentions no fewer than thirty-six royal houses. At one time there were four great Rajput kingdoms: Gujarat, Delhi, Ajmer and Kanauj. In these kingdoms the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were Hindus who had not a drop of Rajput blood in their veins, and yet they submitted to Rajput rule.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by Rajput feudalism and chivalry? [1]
2. What was the origin of the Rajputs? Who were they? How were they divided? [2-3]
3. Describe the main features of Rajput clan-life. [4(a)-(c)]
4. Describe the social customs of the Rajputs. [5]
5. Write a note on the rapid spread of the Rajputs. [6]

III. THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAM

1. A.D. 630, The Eighth of Hijra. An epoch-making event took place in January 630, not in India, but at Mecca in Arabia. In the month of January of that year Muhammad, eight years after his flight or

Hijra from Mecca, returned thither as the Founder of Islam and the Prophet of Allah.

Less than four years later the whole of Arabia had embraced the new creed (630-634). Next followed Syria, comprising modern Syria and Palestine: from Aleppo to Damascus, from Damascus to Jerusalem.

Damascus became the jumping-off place whence Islam spread in all directions: southwards and westwards through Egypt into Northern Africa, and thence into Spain and France as far as Poitiers; northwards into Asia Minor, whence they way lay open into south-eastern Europe; and eastwards into Persia and the countries beyond, as far as the western and north-western frontiers of India.

All this was accomplished in the space of a hundred years. The most important point to remember is that in the beginning of the eighth century (in 711) Islam had reached the very gates of India in those parts which are now called Baluchistan and Afganistan.

2. Occupation of Sind. (a) *The Pirates of Dewal.* After the seizure of an Arab ship by the pirates of Dewal or Debal, a city somewhere near modern Karachi, several Arab expeditions were sent to Sind. The first of them failed. Thereupon the Governor of Irak, Al-Hajjaj, entrusted his son-in-law, Muhammad Ibn-Kasim, with the task of exacting reparation for the insult. Muhammad Ibn-Kasim's was the first serious Muslim Arab invasion of India.

(b) *Kasim's Advance.* His military activities began with the siege, capture and plunder of Dewal. Next, he marched into Sind by the Makram coast-route, a tract of flat country between the southern end of the western mountains and the sea, and advanced as far as the Indus. He succeeded in crossing the Indus and defeated

the fighting men of King Dahir near Rawar or Raor (712). Afterwards he overran the whole of Sind, and pushed on as far north as Multan. But his victorious career was suddenly stopped when he was called back by the Khalif and died in disgrace (715).

(c) *After Kasim's Recall.* After Muhammad Ibn-Kasim's recall, the Muslim advance continued for two hundred years and more (711-962). The territories gradually overrun by the invaders included Sind, Cutch, Saurashtra, Kathiawar and Chavotaka, a principality of Western Rajputana.

3. Effects of the Muslim Invasion. (a) *At first.* As usually happens in such cases, the first results of the invasion were disastrous to the Hindu population. Many people were killed, property was confiscated and temples destroyed. The conquered, besides paying the land tax to the conquerors, had also to pay the hated *jizya* or poll tax levied on Hindus. Cases between Hindus and Muslims were decided by the Muslim judges or Kazis according to the Koran law, and the inhabitants were made to feel in many ways the difference between the rulers and the ruled, the believers and the unbelievers.

(b) *Afterwards.* Little by little, however, relations between Muslims and Hindus became more friendly. Reliable Muslim sources make it clear that in course of time the Arab settlers came to live in peace side by side with their Hindu fellow-citizens.

Moreover, there took place an exchange of ideas which in the first instance benefited the Arabs and also profited the Hindus. The Arabs gained from the Hindus new knowledge in Indian religion, philosophy and folklore, in medicine, mathematics and astronomy. *The Charaka Samhita* and the *Panchatantra* were translated into Arabic. Thus Indian thought and science spread beyond

the confines of the country, and by way of Arabia at last reached Europe. There came a time when Indian scholars journeyed all the way to Bagdad and were warmly welcomed by the Khalifs. Two Indians became the court physicians of the Khalif Harun-al Rashid (786-809). The dark cloud had its silver lining.)

4. Two Great Military Leaders. Mention may here be made of two great military leaders, whose descendants, the Mughuls, played an important part in Indian history. They themselves were Mongols: Jenghiz Khan and Kublai Khan.

(a) *Jenghiz Khan* (1162-1227). He was born in 1162 somewhere in Northern Mongolia on the banks of the Onon. As the river is 500 miles long, nobody knows the exact place of his birth.

After his father's death in 1175, Jenghiz Khan succeeded him at the age of thirteen as the military chieftain of many warlike tribes. When he died, fifty years later, his conquered territories extended from the China Sea to the banks of the river Dnieper in the western half of Russia. His fighting men even marched into India and pushed on to the banks of the Indus in the year 1221. However, they did not cross the river, and on that occasion India had a miraculous escape.

The name Jenghiz Khan is said to mean 'the perfect warrior', but his military success should not blind us to the man's character. His fighting men were evil-doers, and he himself boasted that, when he had destroyed a city, he could gallop his horse over it as over an even plain. The cities he destroyed were many, and the number of men, women, and children he massacred was incredible. No man was ever more feared and hated and cursed during his lifetime; no man deserves less to be praised after his death.

(b) *Kublai Khan* (1216-1294). He was the youngest of the four sons of Jenghiz Khan and his most eminent successor in the chieftainship. After his accession to power in 1229, he made the Chinese city of Peking his capital, where he planned his great military campaigns. He became the ruler of all China and extended his dominions westward, and his overlordship was acknowledged even on the banks of the Volga in the eastern half of Russia.

He also attempted several foreign expeditions: against Champa (Cochin-China), Japan and Russia. In the Champa campaign his soldiers fought against Burma and came close to India. But these expeditions all ended disastrously.

He also sent embassies to various countries, to Madagascar and to some States in Southern India, where his envoys were well received and returned home with flattering professions of homage.

It is admitted by all that Kublai Khan was greatly superior to his father, Jenghiz Khan, and was not a savage and a barbarian as his father had been.

5. The Travels of Marco Polo. Much of the information available about Kublai Khan is contained in the narrative of Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller (1254-1324). From Acre, a sea-coast town of Palestine, Marco Polo together with his father and his uncle proceeded in November 1271 to Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Their intention was to sail thence to China, but they actually travelled overland in a north-eastern direction through Persia towards the Pamir Plateau and far beyond, across the Desert of Gobi, till they reached the land of Kublai Khan, which was then known as Cathay, the modern China.

Marco Polo entered the Khan's service in 1275, and

in his description of his stay in China, he mentions that the Khan had great intelligence and a keen desire for knowledge, with apparently a good deal of kindness. He was a patron of literature and science. But he was not particular about the means he used to raise the enormous amount of money necessary to finance his military expeditions. Marco Polo also describes the splendour of Kublai Khan's court, his palaces, his entertainments, his great hunting expeditions, his system of revenue and paper currency and much else.

After a stay of seventeen years the three Venetians were anxious to go home. They had become rich, and they dreaded what might befall them after Kublai Khan's death. At first the Khan would not hear of their going, but it so happened that the lady Cocacin, a maiden of seventeen, had to be sent to the Khan of Persia, whom she was to marry, and the Persian ambassadors begged Kublai Khan to allow the Polos to accompany them. The request was granted. Marco Polo, his father and his uncle set out on their long voyage home in 1292 and finally arrived in Venice in 1295.

6. Political and Cultural Conditions in Central Asia. Jenghiz Khan has been praised as a man of creative genius, who united into an empire the barbarous tribal communities of Central Asia and founded laws and institutions which lasted for generations after his death. This tribute is undeserved. Jenghiz Khan was not the founder of an empire, but merely succeeded his father in the chieftainship over a number of warlike tribes. After his accession to power, he fought against rival neighbouring chieftains, defeated them all, and then proclaimed himself in 1206 the ruler of an empire. There is no historical evidence to prove that he established laws and institutions among the barbarian tribal com-

munities of Central Asia. There was but one law in Jenghiz Khan's so-called empire, the law of his own strong arm. There is no sense in crediting him with administrative wisdom and nation-building ability, when his whole military career is a conclusive proof that he himself and his fighting men were a mere band of plunderers and murderers.

Such civilization as there was in Central Asia was confined to those parts of that vast country which were not visited by Jenghiz Khan. There Buddhism had become the faith of the inhabitants. At a later date Kublai Khan made use of Buddhism as his chief civilizing instrument.

QUESTIONS

1. When did the first Arab occupation take place and under whom? What was its gradual extent? [2(a)-(c)]
2. What were the effects of the Muslim invasion? [3]
3. Who was Jenghiz Khan? [4(a) and 6]
4. What do you know about Kublai Khan? [4(b) and 5]
5. Write a note on Marco Polo and his travels to China. [5]
6. What were the political and cultural conditions in Asia in the days of Jenghiz Khan? [6]

IV. THE DELHI SULTANATE

I. PRELIMINARY STEPS

1. **The North-Western Invaders.** After India had been entered by force from the south-west by the Arabs, it was invaded from the north-west by other Muslims who belonged to different nationalities. Most of them were Turks, so called because in their original home in Northern China there was a hill named Turku or Durku. Others were Mongols or Afghans, or a mixture of all three. They invaded India through the mountain passes from the country round about Kabul, and eventually

founded the Delhi Sultanate. Two dynasties prepared the way for its establishment: the rulers of Ghazni and those of Ghor.

A. THE GHAZNI DYNASTY (961-1186)

1. **Alptegin (961-975).** The founder of the Ghazni dynasty was Alptegin, who from a slave had become Governor of Khorasan. On being deprived of his office, he fled the country, and established himself as an independent ruler at Ghazni, about seventy miles south-west of Kabul.

2. **Sabuktigin (976-996).** He was Alptegin's successor and the first Ghazni ruler to invade India. After defeating the combined forces of the Rajas of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmer and Kalinjar, he held sway over the country to the west of the Indus.

3. **Sultan Mahmud (997-1030).** He was Sabuktigin's son, and like his father invaded India, but not with the intention of founding an Indian empire. Though he occupied the Punjab, he merely came to make plundering incursions into India, and thus has become known as Mahmud the Raider. Before he died, he invaded India twelve times, or according to some authorities seventeen times. His inroads, which the people long remembered, took him to Lahore, Nagarkot (now called Kangra), Delhi, Mathura and Kanauj in Northern India, and to Somnath on the coast of Kathiawar. He left everywhere behind him sorrow and desolation much greater than the vast amount of wealth he carried off.

Mahmud's campaigns and victories have given rise to many tales in which his courage and perseverance are glorified. All these tales are more dramatic than true, and they should not blind us to the real character of

the man, whose passage through life was marked by bloodshed and destruction.

4. Mahmud's Successors (1030-1186). They made no attempts at further conquests. They were engaged in struggles with their rivals at home, and the last of them was driven from Ghazni, when it was captured and plundered by the fighting men of Ghor.

B. THE GHOR DYNASTY (1186-1206)

When the Ghazni dynasty came to an end, its place was taken by the Ghor dynasty, so called after the city of Ghor, situated about ninety miles north of Kabul.

1. Muhammad of Ghor (1186-1206). He was the most important ruler of the Ghor dynasty. He was above all a soldier, and his conquests brought him lasting fame.

He first attempted to conquer Anhalwara or Gujarat. With this in view he marched southwards and captured Multan and Uch (in those days situated at the confluence of the Indus and the Sutlej). But his further advance southwards was so fiercely opposed that he had to retreat, for once defeated.

Shortly afterwards he made good his losses by annexing Lahore. Then he turned towards Hindustan proper, defeated the Rajputs in the second battle of Tarain (1192), and added the Rajput kingdoms of Ajmer, Delhi and Kanauj to his growing empire. He also subdued Bihar and Bengal.

Muhammad of Ghor may rightly be considered the founder of Muslim power in Northern India.

2. The Rajput Campaign. The Rajputs, who for four hundred years had been the greatest power in Northern India, might have defeated Muhammad if they had been

united. But when Lahore and the Punjab were attacked, the Rajputs in those parts were not helped by those in Hindustan proper. In the latter country Prithviraj of Delhi and Ajmer was at enmity with Jaichand of Kanauj. When the Rajputs did combine forces they defeated Muhammad in the first battle of Tarain (1191). But this victory came too late; Muhammad had become too strong for them and was able to defeat them in the second battle of Tarain (1192).

Afterwards the Rajputs ceased to be a great power. Rather than submit, many of them sought refuge in the desert east of the Indus, where they founded military states.

The second battle of Tarain (1192), which marked the beginning of Muslim rule in Northern India, is sometimes called the first battle of Panipat, thirty miles distant from Tarain.

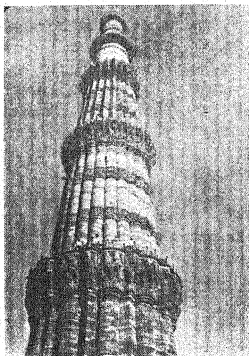
Muhammad of Ghor never resided in Delhi. He considered India as a province of his empire. Therefore he is not the founder of the Delhi Sultanate. However, the temporary Ghazni invasions and the more lasting Ghor conquests prepared the way for the establishment of the Sultanate.

II. THE DELHI SULTANATE

A. UNDER THE SLAVE DYNASTY (1206-1288)

1. Kutb-ud-din (1206-1210). Muhammad of Ghor had no son to succeed him. His place was taken by the viceroy of his Indian provinces, Kutb-ud-din, who made Delhi his capital; and with his accession begins the history of the Delhi Sultanate.

Kutb-ud-din began life as a slave. Among the nine other members of his dynasty who succeeded him,



THE KUTB-MINAR

several were either slaves or the sons of slaves. Hence the scornful saying, 'The empire of Delhi was founded by a slave!' Kutbud-din, the founder of the Slave dynasty, is remembered throughout India to this day, because there stands near Delhi a famous tower, called after him Kutb-Minar. This tower was probably built by his son-in-law, Iltutmish.

When Kutb-ud-din died, his son, Aram, succeeded him for a short time (1211), but was quickly displaced by his brother-in-law, Iltutmish.

2. Iltutmish (1211-1236). He began life as a slave, afterwards married Kutb-ud-din's daughter, and at last succeeded his father-in-law in 1211 as the third ruler of the Slave dynasty, 'the slave of a slave.'

(a) *The First Six Years.* During the first six years of his reign he had to fight two rival chieftains, Kabacha and Yildiz. Yildiz had seized Ghazni and claimed to be the overlord of the Sultan of Delhi, but he was defeated and killed by Iltutmish in 1216. Kabacha had proclaimed himself an independent ruler in Sind and had occupied Lahore, but he was driven from the city by Iltutmish in 1217.

(b) *His Object in Life.* Iltutmish was now the undisputed Sultan of Delhi, but the Sultanate was in a state of unrest. He devoted his lifetime to restoring the Sultanate to the state in which the country was when Muhammad of Ghor died and Kutb-ud-din took over.

He brought Bengal back under his control, seized Ranthambhor in Rajputana, besieged and captured Uch, where Kabacha was drowned in the Indus. He annexed the whole of Sind, and was recognized by the Khalif of Bagdad as the Sultan of India (1217-1228). Afterwards he reduced Bengal to complete submission, captured Gwalior and occupied Malwa (1231-1234).

(c) *His Success.* Before he died he had regained for the Sultanate the territories conquered by Muhammad of Ghor, and had added Sind and Malwa. He is thus entitled to be called the founder of the Delhi Sultanate.

His success was no doubt greatly due to his military skill, his courage and his energy; but it must not be forgotten that it was fortunate for Iltutmish that Jenghiz Khan and his soldiers did not cross the Indus in 1221.

3. Raziyyat-ud-din (1236-1239). Iltutmish was succeeded on the throne by his daughter, Raziyyat, whose short reign was one of the most remarkable episodes in Indian history. For four years she defied the opposition of her discontented nobles, who did not want a woman to rule over them, and by whom she was at last defeated, imprisoned and killed.

For seven years (1239-1246) two useless princes ruled at Delhi. Then Nasir-ud-din, a younger son of Iltutmish (1246-1266), was made Sultan. He was a lover of literature and he left the administration of the Sultanate to his father-in-law, Balban, who proved himself a very able minister and afterwards sat on the throne of Delhi.

4. Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266-1286). (a) *Rise to Power.* He was at first one of a batch of slaves purchased by Iltutmish, and known as 'The Forty'. He gradually rose to power, and during the reign of Nasir-ud-din became prime minister and the virtual ruler of the Sultanate. His reign may be sub-divided into two parts of twenty years each; from 1246 to 1266, he was all-powerful as prime minister, and from 1266 to 1286 he was Sultan.

(b) *The First Twenty Years.* When he became Nasir-ud-din's minister, he was confronted with a difficult task. After the death of Iltutmish, during the reigns of Sultana Raziyat and her two successors, that is from 1236 to 1246, the nobles had grown rebellious, and the treasury had been emptied.

Balban began reorganizing the army, and restored order in the Doab and in the neighbourhood of Delhi. He waged war against the chieftains of robber bands, captured their strongholds, and killed all who did not escape. He suppressed other rebels and also various plundering hill-tribes.

(c) *The Second Twenty Years.* After he had become Sultan in 1266, he pursued the same policy of consolidating the Delhi Sultanate. The Mongols threatened it in the west, but were kept under control by Sher Khan, Balban's governor in those parts. Balban, however, suspected Sher Khan of treachery and ordered him to be poisoned. In his stead, Prince Muhammad, Balban's eldest son, was appointed Governor of Multan, and he routed the Mongols in 1285, but was himself killed. The Mongol danger was warded off for the time being.

Balban also led two expeditions against Tughril Khan, his Governor in Bengal, who had rebelled against his master. Tughril was defeated, captured and killed, and his relatives and followers were likewise put to death.

Prince Muhammad's death in 1285 was a terrible blow, from which the Sultan never recovered; he died in 1286.

(d) *Balban's Greatness.* Balban proved himself a great ruler in the days of confusion and disorder when the Delhi Sultanate was in danger of dismemberment. He spent his life in overcoming internal dissension and warding off external aggression. He had no time to devise administrative reforms, nor could he think of extending the frontiers of his realm. In his determination to preserve the Sultanate intact, he often had recourse to punishments which were so cruel that he cannot be excused for ordering them. Balban's successors were weak men and unable to follow in his footsteps. They were replaced by the Khilji dynasty.

He should not be under this heading.

B. UNDER THE KHILJI DYNASTY (1290-1321)

✓ 1. **Origin.** Some say that the Khiljis were Afghans, others are of opinion that they were of Turkish origin, and others again hold that they were Afghanized Turks.

2. **Jalal-ud-din (1290-1296).** The last of the Slave rulers was killed by Firoz Shah, a man of high rank, who came from Khilji or Khalji in Afghanistan. He became Sultan of Delhi and called himself Jalal-ud-din. He was not an able ruler. For one thing, he was an old man of seventy, who did not know how to maintain order in the Sultanate. After reigning six years, he was murdered by his ambitious nephew, Ala-ud-din.

3. **Ala-ud-din (1296-1316).** (a) *Before his Accession.* Ala-ud-din was Jalal-ud-din's son-in-law as well as his nephew. During Jalal-ud-din's lifetime he made a successful military expedition into Malwa and captured

the fortress town of Bhilsa on the upper course of the river Betwa. There he heard of the fabulous riches of Devagiri or Daulatabad, and without consulting his father-in-law, he marched further south, crossed the Vindhya Range and made for Devagiri. He captured the town and returned home with an incredible amount of plunder.

When Jalal-ud-din hurried to meet him, Ala-ud-din cruelly murdered the old man, and proclaimed himself Sultan (1296).

(b) *His Conquests.* Soon after his accession he started on his career of conquest. (i) *Final Conquest of Gujarat:* In 1297 he sent a strong army to conquer Gujarat, whose ruler Karnadeva sought safety in flight. The whole of Gujarat was overrun and Kamala Devi, the Raja's queen, was captured and taken to Delhi, where she succeeded in winning Ala-ud-din's favour and eventually became his wife.

Her daughter, Devala Devi, had taken refuge together with her father, Karnadeva, in the kingdom of Ramchandradeva of Devagiri (Daulatabad). In March 1307, Ala-ud-din sent an army under Kafur against that ruler. Kafur crossed the Vindhya Range, captured the king and his capital and also Devala Devi. The latter was taken to Delhi, where she was married to Ala-ud-din's son.

This double marriage is of great historical importance; it shows that the relations between Hindus and Muslims were becoming more friendly. Another proof of this was the generous treatment of Ramchandradeva, who became a vassal of the Delhi Sultanate.

(ii) *Struggle with the Mongols.* After Ala-ud-din's accession, the Mongols repeatedly invaded India, but they were each time thrown back with great slaughter by the Delhi general Zafar Khan. In 1299 they marched

once more into India, this time not for plunder but for conquest. They reached the very gates of Delhi, which they besieged for two months, till Zafar Khan inflicted such terrible losses on them that they finally had to retreat. They made afterwards several other attempts to seize the country by force of arms but were repulsed on every occasion. At last they realized that their expeditions had proved costly failures, and they stayed at home.

Some idea of Ala-ud-din's way of dealing with the Mongols may be gathered from the fate that overtook some 30,000 of them, who had embraced Islam and were known as 'New Mussalmans'. They had settled in the neighbourhood of Delhi. When they became discontented and rebelled, Ala-ud-din ordered their wholesale massacre, and all of them were put to death in a single day.

(iii) *War with the Rajputs.* Finally, Ala-ud-din turned against the Rajputs, and sent an army to capture the fortress of Ranthambhor, whose chief had given shelter to some of the 'New Mussalmans'. When the Khilji fighting men were routed and had to retreat, Ala-ud-din took over the command in person, laid siege to the town, captured it, and put to the sword the Raja, his family, the entire garrison, and of course the 'New Mussalmans'.

After Ranthambhor came the turn of the proud city of Chitor. According to the traditional account, Ala-ud-din's motive this time was his passion for Padmini, the queen of Rana Ratan Singh. In order to get Padmini into his power the Sultan treacherously captured the Rana, who was, however, rescued by his followers, though at the cost of the lives of many of the rescuers.

Then Chitor was besieged, and when it could hold out no longer, the whole womanhood of Chitor preferred

death to disgrace. They marched into a great underground retreat with many chambers. The doors were closed upon them, the funeral pyre was lit, and all of them perished. Then the men of Chitor sallied forth and fought and died to the last man.

Ala-ud-din was victorious, but when he rode into Chitor to seize the spoil, he found nothing but a silent, empty city. Thus runs the traditional account, of which Tod has drawn an unforgettable picture in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

(iv) *Result of Conquests.* By the end of Ala-ud-din's reign the Sultanate of Delhi extended, west to east, from Sind to Bengal, and north to south, from Kashmir to the Nilgiri Hills.

(c) *The Administrator.* As an administrator Ala-ud-din kept his subjects under strict control. Farmers paid as land tax one half of the produce of their lands. Merchants had to sell their wares at the price fixed by Government. Grazing taxes were levied in the villages, and house taxes elsewhere. The Hindus had to pay the *nizya* or poll tax, a sum of money per head or person, exacted as a penalty for not being a Muslim. The nobles were ordered to stay at home and not hold meetings, make alliances, or create disturbances. There was peace in the Sultanate.

The Means Used. For all that, it may be questioned whether Ala-ud-din was a wise administrator. Many historians consider that he was a senseless tyrant. There were numerous spies in the service of the State, spread all over the Sultanate. People who ventured to disobey the ruler's orders, whether they were noblemen, merchants, or farmers, were at once reported. The punishments which Ala-ud-din inflicted in such cases were cruel in the extreme. This was tyrannical oppression, not able administration.

4. **Kutb-ud-din (1316-1321).** After Ala-ud-din's death, Kutb-ud-din became Sultan. He proved a worthless ruler. After four years and five months he was murdered by Khusrau Khan, his favourite, who usurped the throne, but was himself overthrown and killed by Ghazi Malik, the first ruler of the Tughlak dynasty, in 1321.

C. UNDER THE TUGHLAK DYNASTY (1321-1414)

1. **Origin.** The members of the Tughlak dynasty were of Indian birth. Ghazi Malik's father had come to India during the reign of the Slave ruler, Balban (1266-1286), and he had married a Hindu wife, a Jat girl of the Punjab.

2. **Ghiyas-ud-din (1321-1325).** When Ghazi Malik became Sultan, he assumed the name of Ghiyas-ud-din. The Khilji dynasty closed in widespread confusion and disorder, as always happened in those days whenever the ruler of the country proved feeble and foolish. The founder of the Tughlak dynasty succeeded in restoring order in the Sultanate: he was a soldier, an administrator, and a just and upright good man. After a short reign of four years, he was murdered, probably with the consent, if not with the assistance, of his son and successor, Muhammad-Bin Tughlak.

3. **Muhammad-Bin Tughlak (1325-1351).** (a) *An Extraordinary Personality.* He was perhaps one of the most accomplished men of his time: a literary celebrity, a philosopher, a mathematician, a student of medicine and a devout Muslim. At the same time, he seems to have been utterly lacking in practical judgment and common sense, for he embarked on foolish schemes which brought disaster to his subjects. He has with

good reason been described as 'an amazing compound of contradictions'.

(b) *Muhammad's Follies: The Doab Experiment.* He tried a new system of taxation in the Doab, one of the most fertile provinces of the Sultanate, exacting from the farmers half the produce of their fields and other taxes in addition. The result was that a terrible famine ensued. His relief measures, such as advancing loans, bringing uncultivated lands under the plough, and sinking wells, came too late to remedy the evil he had done. The peasants left their holdings in great numbers, and Muhammad in his fury inflicted severe punishments on them.

The Daulatabad Experiment. He also resolved to transfer the capital of the Sultanate from Delhi to Daulatabad. The latter place may have had the advantage of being more centrally situated, but the carrying out of the plan proved disastrous to the people of Delhi. They were ordered to leave their homes and to start on a 700 mile journey to Daulatabad, situated well south of the Vindhya Range, in the Deccan. He built a spacious road for the people to travel and provided lavishly for their settlement at Daulatabad. But their sufferings on the way were beyond description, and many died by the roadside from misery and exhaustion. Those who reached their journey's end felt like exiles in a strange land and the whole scheme ended in failure, 'a monument of mis-directed energy.' At last Muhammad realized his mistake, and made still a greater blunder when he ordered the return march of his people to Delhi. The long road became once more the scene of untold suffering, and the comparative few who succeeded in returning home found it difficult to take up life again in what had been a deserted city.

Monetary Experiments. He also introduced a token

currency in copper coins. He ordered that the copper *tanka* was to have the value of a silver coin, with the result that the country was flooded with *tankas*, many of them genuine, but the greater number false, valueless and useless, with which people were unable to buy what they needed. All trade came practically to a standstill. Once more the Sultan recognized his mistake, and repealed the *tanka* edict four years after its promulgation. In the meanwhile great harm had been done and was now beyond remedy.

Warlike Experiments. He dreamt of making vast conquests, and organized an expedition against Khorasan and Persia. He also thought of conquering China, or at least, 'the territories between Hind (India) and China'. All these crazy enterprises ended in dismal failure. Many of the soldiers died of cold and others of starvation; many of them were killed, and the few that returned were cruelly massacred by their master.

(c) *Ruin of the Delhi Sultanate.* The results of Muhammad's blundering showed themselves before long. Confusion and disorder began to prevail throughout the country. Rebellions broke out in Bengal in 1338, and in the Deccan in 1340. While the Sultan was putting down the rebels in one part of his dominions, a revolution broke out in another. It was while he was fighting against the rebels in Sind that he fell ill; and the man who had sent so many to a cruel death died in his bed. By that time his vast empire of twenty-three provinces was rapidly breaking up.

Attempts have of late been made by several historians to excuse and partly to justify Muhammad's administration. These authors say that the historians of Muhammad's days, Barani and Ibn Batuta, were prejudiced, that his misfortunes were mainly due to his subjects who refused to co-operate, that he was grossly misunderstood,

and so on. It may well be that the narratives of Barani and Ibn Batuta give a one-sided picture; but, for all that, there is no doubting that their account is, on the whole, trustworthy and correct. It is of little use to stress Muhammad's great accomplishments, and insist on his good intentions. The real test of his administration is the widespread misery that prevailed in his dominions, and the state of universal rebellion during his reign; there were twenty-two rebellions, seven before 1335 and fifteen between 1335 and 1351. Finally, there is no explaining away his ruthless treatment of his subjects: he knew only one punishment, and that was death.

4. Firoz Shah (1351-1388). (a) *Accession.* Firoz Shah was Muhammad's nephew. The claims of Muhammad's son, who was a mere boy, were set aside, either because his parentage was denied, or on the ground of minority.

(b) *Attempts at Restoring Order.* Firoz Shah started by bringing relief to the famine-stricken people by building extensive irrigation works. He repealed the crushing taxes; he reduced the sovereign's share of war booty and increased that of the soldiers. He put an end to the persecution of the Hindus and suppressed the cruel practice of mutilation and torture.

(c) *Failure.* But he did not succeed in restoring peace and prosperity. It proved an impossible task to deal successfully with the rebellions that broke out in Bengal, in Sind and in the Deccan. Moreover, his administration of the Sultanate was far from perfect. He encouraged the trade in slaves on a very large scale, so that the number of farmers became less, and agriculture suffered severely. His religious intolerance was a source of suffering for the Hindus, who had to pay the *jizya* tax.

(d) *Result.* The result was that in spite of his well-

meant efforts Firoz Khan could not prevent the Sultanate from falling to pieces.

5. The Remaining Tughlak Rulers (1388-1414). No fewer than five of them succeeded Firoz Khan in six short years (1388-1394). In 1394 the succession was disputed by two rival princes: Muhammad, the victor, reigned from 1394 to 1414. But all these later members of the Tughlak dynasty were rulers in name and not in deed.

D. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS IN THE SULTANATE

1. Cultural Conditions. (a) *Before its Foundation.*

In the days immediately preceding the establishment of the Sultanate, architecture, sculpture, painting and learning flourished in many of the parts of India which it afterwards included. Nagarkot, Mathura and Kanauj bear witness to this.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni carried away from Nagarkot 'a house of white silver, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen; and it could be taken to pieces and put together again'. Mathura was called 'the Queen of Indian Architecture', and one of its temples was such a masterpiece that Mahmud the Raider was himself of opinion that it must have taken 200 years to build. Kanauj was likewise celebrated for its many temples, and everyone has heard of the famous temple of Somnath.

Again, on the occasion of the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Muhammad of Ghor, a great library was scattered and probably burnt; and many Buddhist temples at Sarnath near Banaras were likewise destroyed.

In spite of such destruction we can still find in India many tokens of the genius of the architects, builders, jewellers, sculptors and other artists, and men of learning in those distant days.

(b) *During the Sultanate.* Once the Sultanate of Delhi had been established, the cultural development of the country made rapid progress.

Among the members of the Slave dynasty, Iltutmish was a highly gifted ruler and a patron of arts and letters. He completed the structure of the Kutb-Minar at Delhi and built a magnificent mosque. Nasir-ud-din was a scholar and spent much of his time in copying the Koran. He was also a patron of learning. Balban greatly raised the prestige of the Sultanate, and during his reign the Delhi court became famous for its magnificence.

Among the members of the Khilji dynasty, Ala-ud-din was fond of architecture. He was a builder of forts and of mosques; he also built a new Delhi called Siri, and made extensive additions to the Kutb Mosque. Though he was not a learned man himself, he enjoyed the company of eminent scholars and poets.

Among the members of the Tughlak dynasty, Muhammad-Bin Tughlak was an accomplished man. He knew Arabic and Persian to perfection, studied logic, philosophy, mathematics and medicine. He welcomed to his court the Afghan traveller Ibn Batuta, the greatest historian of those days, and appointed him Chief Kazi of Delhi. Among the higher officials at his court was Barani, the author of several historical works.)

(2. **Social Conditions.** It is difficult to give a correct idea of the social and economic conditions of the country during this period. Many of the Sultans were warlike men, whose main concern was not to make their people happy but to keep them under severe control so that they could not rebel against harsh taxation or injustice. The means they employed were more effective than praise-worthy; their administration was marked by oppression.)

QUESTIONS

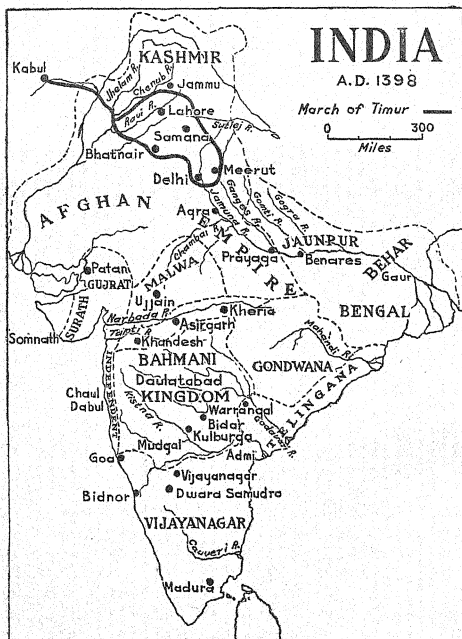
1. What do you know about Alptegin, Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni? [I, A, 1-3]
2. Why is Muhammad of Ghor the real founder of Muslim power in Northern India, and why were the Rajputs defeated by him? [I, B, 1-2]
3. Why is Kutb-ud-din the founder of the Delhi Sultanate; and why may Iltutmish rightly be called its real founder? [II, A, 1-2]
4. Was Balban one of the greatest Slave rulers? [II, A, 4]
5. How did the Khilji dynasty begin, and by whom was its founder overthrown? [II, B, 1-2]
6. What were Ala-ud-din's military achievements before his accession and after his accession? [II, B, 3(a)-(b)]
7. Discuss whether Ala-ud-din was a wise administrator or only a great conqueror. [II, B, 3 (a)-(c)]
8. How did the Rajputs fare during Ala-ud-din's reign? [II, B, 3(b)]
9. Who was the founder of the Tughlak dynasty, and by whom was he overthrown? [II C, 1-2]
10. Is it true that Muhammad-Bin Tughlak was a compound of contradictions? [II, C, 3(a)-(c)]
11. What about the various attempts to justify his way of acting? [II, C, 3(c)]
12. Give an account of the social and cultural conditions in the Sultanate. [II, D]

V. THE BREAK-UP OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI AND THE RISE OF NEW KINGDOMS

I. BREAK-UP OF THE SULTANATE

1. Causes. The Delhi Sultanate was not like a house built on the rock; its foundations were unstable and it was a weak structure in itself. It was weak because among its rulers there were few really strong men. Moreover, these few ruled with an iron hand. They were tyrannical in their methods, so that their rule was never supported by the affection of their people.

The Delhi Sultanate's weakness was also partly due to its size. Its outlying provinces were so far from Delhi



that it was difficult for the ruler to keep his governors under control. The latter were always ready to proclaim their independence at the first opportunity; and

they did so whenever a strong ruler died and had a feeble successor.

2. Process of its Downfall. (a) *Muhammad-Bin Tughlak*. His oppressive rule and foolish experiments were the first step on the road to ruin. By the end of his reign the Sultanate was in a state of widespread misery and rebellion, and there was no great ruler to succeed him and hold up the tottering building.

(b) *The Weakness of Muhammad-Bin Tughlak's Successors*. This marked the second step on the road to ruin. During the first six years after his death, between 1388 and 1394, five Sultans came and went, one after the other, all of them weak rulers, whose provincial governors did not trouble to obey them.

During the next three years two rival claimants fought for the succession to the throne of Delhi and the neighbouring towns—all that remained of the once mighty Sultanate of Delhi. One of these claimants, Nasir-uddin Muhamud, became Sultan in Delhi; the other, Nusrat Shah, became Sultan in Firozabad, a few miles away.

(c) *Timur's Invasion*. This was the third step on the road to ruin. According to the traditional account, Timur or Tamerlane, who ruled in Trans-Oxiana, the country beyond the Oxus, after having conquered Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, sent trusty messengers to observe what was going on in India. He was informed by them that India was in a state of confusion. Thereupon, in his own words: 'Resolved to undertake its conquest, and make myself master of the Indian Empire . . . Did so!'

The Lame Firebrand of the World, as he has been called, left Samarkand in April 1398. His initial advance into India was made easy for him by his grandson, Pir Muhammad, who, in the first half of that year, had

marched into India, and besieged and captured Multan, on the river Jhelum. Without striking a blow, Timur was able to advance as far as Talamba, at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi. He captured the city, and either put to death or enslaved its inhabitants.

Next he turned southwards towards the Rajput stronghold of Bhatnair or Bikaner, which had the same fate, or even a worse one, because the Rajputs put up a stout resistance. From Bikaner he marched towards Delhi, capturing several cities on the way and massacring their inhabitants. On the outskirts of Delhi, the then reigning Sultan Mahmud tried to defend his city-kingdom, but was hopelessly defeated and fled to Gujarat.

On 18th December 1398, Timur entered Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor. He stayed there for two weeks, during which Delhi suffered as it had never done before. For the space of five days the city was plundered, and its inhabitants either butchered or reduced to slavery.

After those two dreadful weeks, Timur started on his return journey home, passing by Meerut, Hardwar and Jammu, leaving destruction behind him everywhere. He carried away an untold amount of wealth, so that silver and gold were no longer procurable. Those of the surviving inhabitants who had succeeded in concealing a few silver coins became wealthy men. So precious had silver coins become that a traveller from Delhi to Agra paid for the long journey for himself, his horse and his four attendants by spending one *bahloli*, a coin not worth more than three annas.

As Timur and his fighting men went home, loaded with loot, they drove before them a host of captives, among whom there were many masons and artisans, taken to Samarkand to build the famous Friday Mosque.

(d) *Provincial Kingdoms.* The fourth step on the road

to ruin was the establishment, north of the Vindhya Range, of many independent kingdoms: Sind, Multan, Kashmir, Malwa, Rajputana, and many others. As regards Delhi, it could now scarcely be called a kingdom. Sultan Mahmud, who had fled to Gujarat when defeated by Timur, returned to Delhi in 1401, and was its nominal ruler for twelve years. Of the last of the Tughlaks it has been said: 'The rule of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam.' Palam was nine miles distant from Delhi.

3. Post-Tughlak Rulers of Delhi. (a) *The Sayyids* (1414-1450). After the death of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, the last of the Tughlaks, the Sayyids ruled in Delhi. They called themselves Sayyids or descendants of the Prophet, but their claim is more than doubtful.

The founder of the Sayyid dynasty was Kizr Khan (1414-1421), who had entered Timur's service, and ruled at Delhi as Timur's deputy. He succeeded in restoring order in Delhi.

His three successors were less able men, and during their reign Delhi was divided into factions. Mubarak Shah (1421-1434) was murdered by a discontented minister. His successor, Muhammad Shah (1434-1445), was little more than a figurehead and the victim of rival parties. Alam Shah (1445-1451), the last of the Sayyids, after vainly trying to get rid of his minister, Hamid Shah, abdicated and made over the throne of Delhi to Bahlol Lodi in 1451.

(b) *The Lodis* (1451-1526). Three members of the Lodi dynasty, who were Afghans, ruled in Delhi: Bahlol, Sikandar and Ibrahim.

The first two, Bahlol (1451-1489) and Sikander (1489-1517), succeeded in restoring Delhi to something of its former prestige. They brought back under control Jaun-

pur, Bihar and Tirhut. Delhi became once more an independent kingdom, one among many others, but steadily growing in importance. However, the efforts at reconstruction by these two rulers met with fierce opposition on the part of the Afghan nobles, of whom many had gathered in Delhi. They were an unruly set of men, used to independence, and unwilling to obey.

Ibrahim (1517-1526), the last of the Lodis, tried in vain to come to terms with these nobles. Weary of their insubordination, he took measures to suppress their lawlessness. Thereupon one of the most powerful of them, Daulat Khan Lodi, invited Babar, the ruler of Kabul, to come to his help against Ibrahim. The invitation was gladly accepted. Babar advanced into India and made it plain that he meant to stay. This did not suit Daulat Khan Lodi, who, with the help of other nobles, drove Babar out again. Babar returned, however, forced Daulat Khan to submit, defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, and established himself permanently at Delhi. This was the beginning of Mughul rule in India.

II. THE KINGDOMS OF THE SOUTH

The dismemberment of the Sultanate of Delhi resulted in the rise of many kingdoms not only in Northern India, but also to the south of the Vindhya Range. The most important new kingdoms were: the kingdom of Bahmani (afterwards split up into five Sultanates, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar and Golkonda) and the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

A. THE BAHMANI KINGDOM (1347-1527)

1. Name, Origin and Extent. It was called the Bahmani kingdom because its founder, Ala-ud-din Hasan, claimed to be descended from an early Persian king of the name of Bahman.

Ala-ud-din profited by the dissensions which prevailed in the Sultanate of Delhi during the reign of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlak to seize the town of Daulatabad, and became the first Sultan of the Bahmani dynasty. His kingdom extended from the Bombay Konkan to the Wainganga, and from the Tapti to the Tungabhadra and the Kistna. The greater part of it was formed by the modern State of Hyderabad. Its capital was at first Gulbarga, and afterwards Bidar.

2. The Bahmani Sultans. There were at least fourteen of them and according to other historians as many as eighteen. In general it may be said that they lived in troubled times, and spent their reigns in waging religious warfare either with their Hindu subjects or with their Hindu neighbours of Vijayanagar. Some of them were good men of high character, notably Ala-ud-din, the founder of the dynasty, but others were not to be admired. Of the eighteen, if that number may be accepted, five were murdered, two died of intemperance, and three were deposed, two of them being blinded.

3. The Nobles and the People. The Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin, who spent four years in the kingdom, from 1470-1474, during the reign of Muhammad Shah III, wrote: 'The land is overstocked with people, but those in the country are very miserable, while the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury.'

4. Redeeming Features. The history of the Bahmani dynasty is not pleasant reading, but it can at least be said that several of the Sultans were patrons of learning and education; they founded public schools, charitable institutions, and even a hospital. They built fortresses which in those days of primitive warfare were almost indestructible; and they constructed irriga-

tion works which benefited the peasantry and added to the revenues of the State.

The Bahmani dynasty came to an end in 1527 after ruling for 180 years.

B. THE FIVE SULTANATES OF THE DECCAN

The last Bahmani ruler died in 1527, but the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom had already started long before, some time after the death of Muhammad Shah III in 1482, when the Five Sultanates of the Deccan broke away from it: Berar in 1484, Bijapur in 1489, Ahmadnagar in 1490, Golkonda in 1518 and Bidar in 1526.

1. Berar (1484-1574). It was the first to declare its independence. Ninety years later it was absorbed by Ahmadnagar without having played any important part in the history of the Deccan.

2. Bijapur (1489-1673). (a) *Origin.* It was established as an independent Sultanate by Yusuf Adil Shah, and became by far the most important of the Deccan Sultanates.

(b) *Home Events.* The course of these events was largely determined by the religious policy of the rulers. Yusuf Adil Shah (1499-1510) practised the Shia creed, and stirred up discontent in his own and in the other Deccan Sultanates. The fourth ruler, Ibrahim Adil Shah (1535-1557), became a Sunni, but his successor, Ali Adil Shah (1557-1580), reverted to the Shia creed. The result was that Bijapur was torn by religious dissensions which delayed its progress.

(c) *Foreign Events: Loss of Goa (1510).* Goa was occupied by the Portuguese in February 1510. In May of the same year it was recaptured by Yusuf Adil Shah,

but he died in October, and it was re-occupied by the Portuguese in November and has ever since remained in Portuguese hands.

Sack of Vijayanagar (1565). In 1565 Bijapur joined the Sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golkonda, and defeated the fighting forces of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota. The victory of the combined Sultanates was the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

(d) *The End of Bijapur.* The last Adil Shahi ruler, Sikandar, was made prisoner by Aurangzeb in 1673, and the dynasty became extinct in 1686.

3. Ahmadnagar (1490-1600). (a) *Origin.* The Sultanate was founded in 1490 by Malik Ahmad, the first ruler of the Nizami Shahi dynasty.

(b) *Most Important Events.* The capital of the kingdom was Ahmadnagar, founded by Malik Ahmad, but its most important city was the fortress-town of Daulatabad, captured in 1499.

The Sultans of Ahmadnagar were more often at war than at peace. They fought with the neighbouring Sultanates and against Vijayanagar.

The most interesting figure in the history of the Sultanate is Chand Bibi, the dowager queen, who successfully opposed the attempt of Akbar's son, Prince Murad, to conquer Ahmadnagar in 1596. Four years later Chand Bibi once more defied the Mughul forces under the command of Akbar's third son, Prince Daniyal.

This time Chand Bibi was killed, and Ahmadnagar was captured; it became a province of the Mughul empire.

4. Golkonda (1518-1687). *Origin.* It was founded in 1518 by Kutb Shahi, who ruled from 1518 to 1543,



KUTB SHAHI OF GOLKONDA

His successors maintained their independence till 1611, when the history of Golkonda came to be bound up with that of the Mughul empire, of which it became a province in 1687.

5. Bidar (1526-1609). It was founded in 1526 by Amir Ali Barid, the first of the Barid Shahi dynasty. The Sultanate was in a constant state of war, joining forces either with or against Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda. Bidar was absorbed by Bijapur in 1609.

N.B.—Though it is a common saying that dog doesn't eat dog, the history of the Five Sultanates of the Deccan proves the contrary. Berar was absorbed by Ahmadnagar; Bidar by Bijapur; and Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda by the Mughul empire.

C. THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR (1336-1646)

1. Origin and Extent. The foundation of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was the joint work of five brothers, the sons of a certain Sangama. They came forward as the champions of Hinduism against Muslim oppression in the days of the Sultanate of Delhi (1336). Their attempt was so successful that Vijayanagar became the paramount power in Southern India, and comprised the whole of what was afterwards the Madras Presidency, including the Indian States.

2. The City of Vijayanagar. According to the accounts of various travellers, it had no equal in its time: 'It is a city exceedingly large and populous.' 'The circuit of the city is twenty-four miles and within its walls are certain mountains. I have seen three kings' courts, and yet I had seen none in greatness like Vijayanagar.'

3. The Rulers of Vijayanagar. Their wealth seems to have been fabulous. The royal palace enclosure contained thirty-four streets; one room of their palace was all ivory; the utensils they used were of gold and silver. Their wealth was equalled by their strength, and they had a million fighting troops at their disposal. Their rule was autocratic in the extreme. They had absolute control over the great nobles entrusted with the government of the provinces, of which there were about two hundred. They appointed the governors, could deprive them of their office, and claimed the right to confiscate their lands. They ruled over the common people with an iron hand, taxed them heavily, and inflicted punishments too revolting to mention.

4. Constant Warfare. The rulers were constantly at war with their Muslim neighbours.

(a) *Bahmani Wars.* In these wars the Bahmani Sultans were the aggressors.

During the reign of Bakka I, one of the five Sangama brothers (1343-1376), Muhammad Shah I of Bahmani and his successor, Mujahid Shah, attacked the kingdom of Vijayanagar in great strength, inflicted heavy losses, and at one time threatened the city of Vijayanagar itself.

During the reign of Deva Raya I (1406-1410), Firoz Shah, the eighth Sultan of Bahmani, led every year an expedition into the kingdom of Vijayanagar, occupied Rajamundri, on the Godavari delta, and forced Deva Raya to pay an annual tribute.

During the reign of Deva Raya II (1421-1428), Ahmad Shah, the ninth ruler of Bahmani, continued to harass the Hindu kingdom and to enforce the yearly tribute.

(b) *Deccan Sultanate Wars.* After the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, Muslims and Hindus continued to fight; the Deccan Sultans took the place of the Bahmani rulers.

(i) *Divided Efforts.* At first the Sultans were defeated, because they were not united. In 1521 Bijapur, for lack of support, was completely routed by Krishna Raya of Vijayanagar, it was temporarily occupied, and its early capital, Gulbarga, was razed to the ground. In 1548 Bijapur was again defeated during the reign of Sadasiva Raya, who was on the occasion helped by the fighting men of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda. Fifteen years later, in 1563, Bijapur took its revenge. It allied itself with Vijayanagar, and the combined Muslim-Hindu forces wrought terrible havoc in Ahmadnagar.

(ii) *United Front.* The Hindus had shown themselves so merciless in Ahmadnagar that the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkonda realized that, if they wished to escape destruction, they had to join forces against the common foe. Their combined troops met the

Hindu armies gathered at Talikota, north of the Kistna. The so-called battle of Talikota was fought at Raksas-Tagdi, on January 23rd, 1565.

According to Portuguese authors the Muslim armies numbered 50,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, while the Hindu host consisted of 70,000 cavalry and 300,000 infantry. Though these numbers cannot be relied on, it may safely be said that the Hindus were twice as numerous as the Muslims, but the latter had more artillery. In the battle that followed the Muslims won the day, and about 100,000 Hindus were slain. The defeat of Talikota was the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

5. Relations with the Portuguese. These relations date back to 1510, the closing year of the reign of Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Bijapur Sultanate. In that year the Portuguese had occupied and lost Goa. After Yusuf Adil Shah's death in October, Timoja, who was in command of the Vijayanagar fleet, prevailed on the Portuguese to attack Goa once more. They recaptured it in November, and Timoja was given the title of 'the most faithful ally of Portugal'.

A year later, in 1511, the Hindu ruler, Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1530), sent ambassadors to Goa to conclude a perpetual treaty of friendship between Vijayanagar and Portugal. The result was that, when Krishna Deva Raya attacked and captured the fortress of Rachol in 1515, a detachment of Portuguese soldiers rendered valuable service. The Hindu ruler showed his gratitude by presenting the Portuguese viceroy with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift.

These friendly relations were endangered when the Portuguese made a vain attempt to plunder a famous Hindu temple in 1544. But this was but a passing inci-

dent. In 1546 friendly relations were renewed, the donation of Salsette was confirmed, Bardez was also ceded, and a solemn treaty of friendship was concluded in September 1547.

Nor were these relations interrupted when in 1558 the Hindu minister, Rama Raya, made a sudden attack on San Thome, whose inhabitants did not resist and so were granted easy terms of surrender. The merchants of Vijayanagar continued to trade with the Portuguese. The merchandise that went from Goa to Vijayanagar consisted of Arab horses, velvet, damask, satin, armozeen (a heavy black silk) and scarlet. For years the Portuguese had the monopoly of trade with Vijayanagar, till their influence was undermined by the coming of the Dutch.

6. Vijayanagar's Downfall. The Hindu kingdom never recovered from the fatal battle of Talikota (1565). After the defeat, the proud city of Vijayanagar was left defenceless, and was plundered by the robber tribes and jungle people of its neighbourhood, who invaded it three days in advance of the Muslim fighting men. After them came the Muslims, who turned the city into a heap of ruins, and mercilessly put the inhabitants to the sword.

However, the Hindu kingdom did not cease to exist there and then. The victorious Sultanates, instead of remaining strong and united, relapsed into their former weakness, owing to mutual distrust and jealousy. This made it possible for Tirumala, the brother of Rama Raya, the Hindu minister who had been killed, to return to Vijayanagar. But he found the city in such a state of destruction that he transferred the capital to Penukonda in the Anantapur District, in 1567. He also got rid of Sadasiva, the nominal ruler of the Hindu kingdom, and usurped the throne. He succeeded in holding his own

against the divided Sultans, but was unable to repress the internal dissensions in his kingdom. His death in 1572 put an end to the work of reconstruction.

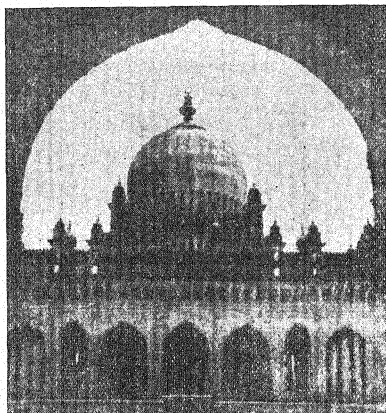
In the long run, it was not the defeat of Talikota that was the real cause of the downfall of Vijayanagar, but the rival factions among the great nobles. The selfishness of those men led to the final conquest of the Hindu kingdom by the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golkonda, while other Hindu chiefs set up independent states at Keladi and Ikkeri, at Madura and Tanjore. It was only in 1614, about half a century after the battle of Talikota, that the Hindu kingdom finally collapsed.

III. ART, ARCHITECTURE AND COMMERCE

1. In the Bahmani Kingdom. The Bahmani rulers were great builders of fortresses. It has been said that these were their greatest and most indestructible monuments, which excelled any of the same period in Europe. During their reigns remarkable progress was noticeable in architecture. While the buildings of their first capital at Gulbarga were roughly constructed, those of the second capital, Bidar, were of superior design and workmanship. One of the Bahmani Sultans, Mahmud, is credited with having built in 1472 a *madrasa*, a college of three storeys, containing lecture halls, professors' rooms, a library, and a mosque.

2. In the Five Sultanates. The founder of the Bijapur Sultanates, Yusuf Adil Shah, invited to his court many learned men from Persia, Turkestan and Rum; and he came liberally to the aid of several eminent artists. Another member of the Adil Shah dynasty, Ibrahim II, constituted himself the patron and protector of the historian Ferishta, and a library is known to have

existed at Bijapur. Moreover, the Bijapur rulers were builders of mosques, tombs, city-walls and fortresses.



IBRAHIM'S TOMB, BIJAPUR

Bijapur and Golkonda each developed their own style of architecture which in both cases differed from the style of Northern India. The Golkonda fortress contained a number of palaces, mosques, and other buildings of remarkable workmanship, while outside the fortress the tombs of the members of the Kutb Shahi dynasty were built of granite.

As at Bijapur there was a library at Ahmadnagar, which still shows the ruins of a white palace built by the founder of the city.

In short, it may be said that the art and architecture flourished in the Five Sultanates, as may be gathered from buildings and other architectural remains still extant.

3. In the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar was famous for its brilliant cultural and artistic works. Its emperors were patrons of learned works in several languages: Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. Under their patronage, poets, philosophers and religious teachers produced works of such a high standard that the Hindu kingdom 'marked the dawn of a new era in the literary history of South India'. The Hindu rulers were also great builders, and art and architecture attained in those days a high degree of perfection. They developed a distinct style of architecture, sculpture and painting, typically Indian.

The descriptions that have come down to us, in the accounts of Portuguese and Indian writers of those days, are conclusive evidence of the ancient glory of the famous Hindu kingdom.

N.B.—As regards commerce, the Five Sultanates and Vijayanagar traded mainly with the Portuguese. The merchandise that went every year from Goa to the Sultanates and Vijayanagar consisted of Arab horses, velvet, damask, satin, armozeen, saffron and scarlet.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the break-up of the Sultanate of Delhi, and what was the process of its downfall? [I, 1-2]
2. What was Timur's share in the downfall of the Sultanate of Delhi? [I, 2(c)]
3. Give a brief account of the post-Tughlak rulers at Delhi; the Sayyids and the Lodis. [I, 3(a)-(b)]
4. Who was the founder of the Bahmani kingdom? What do you know of the ruling Sultans and of the condition of the nobles and the people? [II, A, 1-3]

5. Give an account of the foundation of the Bijapur Sultanate and of the most important events, home and foreign. [II, B, 2]
6. Write short notes on Berar [II, B, 1], Golkonda [II, B, 4], and Bidar [II, B, 5]
7. By whom was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar founded? What do you know about the city of Vijayanagar and the rulers of the kingdom? [II, C, 1-3]
8. With whom were the rulers of Vijayanagar constantly at war? [II, C, 4(a)-(b)]
9. To what extent did the battle of Talikota bring about the ruin of Vijayanagar? [II, C, 4(b) and 6]
10. What were the relations between the Hindu rulers and the Portuguese? [II, C, 5]
11. Write a note on art, architecture and commerce in the kingdoms of South India. [III, 1-3]

VI. TRADE ROUTES

1. The Dividing Line. The most important event in the history of the trade routes between Europe and India was the rapid rise to power of the Turkish empire. In the days before the Muslim conquest this trade was mainly carried on overland. But towards the beginning of the fifteenth century the Turks had seized and occupied the sea-board towns of the eastern Mediterranean from Constantinople on the Bosphorus to Alexandria on the Nile. These towns were the outlet of the overland trade flowing from India to Europe; and with Muslim supremacy firmly established, this outlet was for some time blocked. It was then that the quest for a sea route to India began. The rise to power of the Turks was, therefore, the dividing line separating the overland trade from the overseas trade.

2. The Three Old Trade Routes. (a) *The Northern Trade Route.* Its starting-point was either Multan in the Indus Valley or Peshawar close to the Khyber Pass.

If two caravans travelled together, they met at Balkh, whence they proceeded to Merv, where the travellers often split into two parties.

They might march due west from Merv to Astarabad at the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea, and then push on further westwards *via* Tabriz and Erzerum, till they reached Trebizond on the Black Sea, whence the merchandise was conveyed to Constantinople for further distribution among the European trading countries.

Alternatively the caravan proceeded northwards from Merv to the banks of the Oxus, where it was joined by the great Western China caravan coming from distant Kashgar. Then the combined travelling parties set their faces towards the north-west, and marched day after day in that direction till they reached the northern shore of the Caspian Sea and at last the river Volga, whence the merchandise was carried by waterway to Novgorod, the ancient market-town of Russia.

(b) *The Middle Route.* The middle route was the most ancient of the three. From the earliest times Indian ships, keeping close to the Asiatic shore, sailed from Kathiawar to Ormuz, and crept up the Persian Gulf to Basra. Thence the goods were conveyed *via* Bagdad through Syria to Damascus. There the Syrian trade route branched off into two directions: a northern branch led to the ancient cities of Tyre and Sidon, a southern branch crossed Palestine and swung into Egypt.

(c) *The Southern Route.* This was perhaps the most daring, for it meant the crossing of the Arabian Sea from Calicut to the southern shore of Arabia. The ships then sailed to Aden, and made their way up the Red Sea to Suez, whence the merchandise was conveyed through Egypt to the Nile on its way to the Mediterranean.

(d) *By Way of Comment.* The three trade routes were

very long and difficult, and travelling by them must have meant untold suffering for men and beasts; yet the profit that was reaped in the great trading cities of Europe—Genoa, Venice, Lubeck, Novgorod, Bruges and many others—is almost incredible. When the wife of Philip the Fair of France visited the city of Bruges, she exclaimed: ‘There are more than a hundred women here who have more the air of queens than myself.’ Great was the misery that struck those cities when the Turks blocked the old trade routes. Then, ‘grass grew in the fair and pleasant streets of Bruges, and seaweed clustered about the marble halls of Venice. Augsburg, once a busy trading centre, became a quiet provincial town, and Novgorod lost all its trading privileges. Europe’s trade with eastern countries lay strangled in the grip of the Turks.’

3. The Quest for India by Sea. (a) *Period of Wishful Thinking.* At first the nations of Europe hoped that they would be able to trade by the Black Sea and the northern route. Ambassadors were sent to most of the Tartar chiefs from the shores of the Black Sea to the edge of the Mongolian desert. They were welcomed, their presents were accepted, fair promises were made to them; but for all practical purposes the northern route remained blocked.

(b) *Prince Henry the Navigator* (1394-1460). He was the fifth and the most illustrious son of King John I of Portugal. At the age of twenty-one he had already won great military fame, for in 1415 he had succeeded in depriving the Muslims of the stronghold of Ceuta, situated on the northern coast of Africa, opposite Gibraltar. From that day onwards he made it his sole concern in life to free Europe from the danger that threatened it if the Muslims were to remain the undisputed

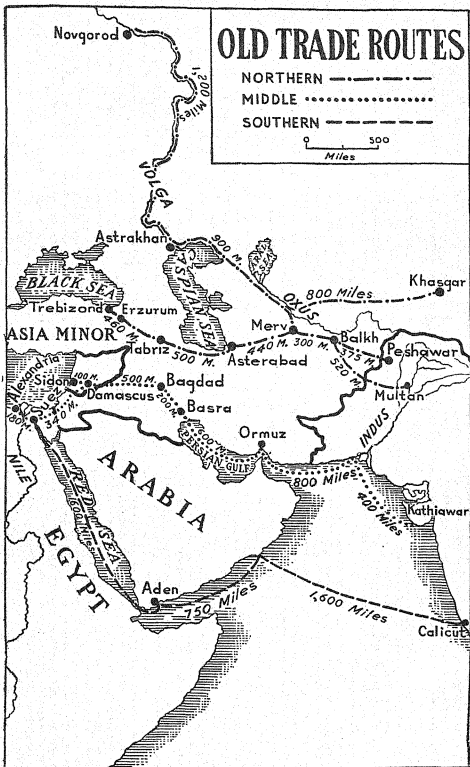
OLD TRADE ROUTES

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Miles



masters of the eastern trade. Accordingly he devoted his lifetime to the discovery of a sea route to India.

He surrounded himself with learned men of every nation, and during that well-known but ill-defined period which is called the Renaissance (1450-1550), he discussed with them whatever information had been handed down by previous travellers. Among other things there was the story of the Sea of Darkness, a black ocean from which no ship had ever returned. At the same time there was the legend of a passage round Africa to India.

Prince Henry organized a number of exploring voyages towards the south. His captains did not indeed sail far south, for they had not gone beyond the Cape Verde Islands, 16 degrees north of the Equator, when Prince Henry died in 1460. But he had not toiled in vain. He left behind him an astronomical observatory, a naval arsenal, a great school of scientific navigation, and many admirers who were ready to continue the search which, but for him, would never have started. He has rightly been called the originator of continuous modern discovery.

(c) *Prince Henry's Successors—Further progress.* The discovery of the Cape Verde Islands was a landmark in the search for India. The 'captains courageous' of those days made bold to sail further southwards. They rounded the exposed shoulder of north-western Africa. When they reached the Gulf of Guinea, they found out for themselves that the so-called dreaded Sea of Darkness was no black ocean after all. In 1471 they crossed the Equator. Thirteen years later, in 1484, they reached the Congo.

BARTHOLOMEW DIAS. In 1486 he rounded the southern extremity of Africa, but so far out to sea that he was not aware of it, and reached Algoa Bay on the eastern

coast of South Africa. His would undoubtedly have been the glory of being the discoverer of India, if his sailors had not lost courage and insisted on returning home. On his way back he sighted the southern headland, which he called Cabo Tormentoso, the Cape of Many Storms, but to which his royal master gave the name of Cape of Good Hope.

PEDRO DE COVILHAM. In 1487, before Bartholomew Dias had come home, Pedro de Covilham was sent to Egypt to gather news about the Indian Ocean. On reaching Aden, he sailed east in an Arab ship and was the first Portuguese explorer to set foot on Indian soil. He stayed for some time on the coast of Malabar, and on his return journey touched at Sofala. On his way home he stopped in Abyssinia, where he settled and died. But he sent to the King of Portugal a detailed account of his discoveries: 'When the ships should reach the Eastern Ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon,' *i.e.* Madagascar.

VASCO DA GAMA. Finally, Vasco da Gama sailed from the Tagus on Saturday, 8th July 1497, down the western African littoral. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope he pushed on northwards till he reached the port of Melinda. Thence he sailed in a north-easterly direction and landed at Calicut on May 20th, 1498. By August or September 1499 he was back at Lisbon, where he received a right royal welcome, though the general rejoicings were marred by the weeping of those whose beloved ones lay buried in some far-off land or in the deep waters of the sea. He had lost half his ships and half his crew.

4. The Other Nations. (*a*) *English Attempts.* English seamen started to make attempts to discover a sea route to India for themselves when Vasco da Gama had

solved the problem for the Portuguese. In 1497 John Cabot hoped to reach India by the Atlantic, and he arrived in North America. However, he was of opinion that he had gained for England 'a great part of Asia without a stroke of the sword'. In 1576 Martin Frobisher repeatedly tried to find a north-west route to India. He sailed along the coast of Greenland and finally landed in Labrador. By that time the Elizabethan seamen had realized that there was no use looking for a new and independent route to India. From 1562 onwards, Sir John Hawkins, Francis Drake and Raleigh followed the routes taken by the captains of Portugal and Spain.

(b) *Dutch Attempts.* Almost a hundred years after Vasco da Gama had landed at Calicut, Dutch squadrons set out for the East, by the Cape of Good Hope. In 1595 a Dutch squadron under Cornelius Houtman sailed by the Cape route and reached the Indian Archipelago. The Dutch started their exploring voyages long after the Portuguese, but they proved themselves very energetic. Between the years 1595 and 1601 fifteen Dutch expeditions sailed for the East. Their object was to capture the Indian trade.

(c) *Spanish Attempts.* The most formidable rivals of the Portuguese were the Spaniards. In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered for the Spanish Crown several islands off the coast of America. Columbus was himself persuaded that he had reached the outer boundaries of Asia. However, his discovery was the beginning of Spain's great colonial empire in the New World.

5. The Papal Bulls. The rivalry between Portugal and Spain for the occupation of newly discovered lands might easily have disturbed the peace of Europe. It was then that the Pope interfered as the supreme authority acknowledged throughout the European continent

and responsible for the maintenance of peace in Christendom. They issued at various times Papal Bulls, *i.e.*, Papal edicts, laying down the line of division between the zones in which the Portuguese and the Spanish respectively might explore and claim and conquer new lands. Each country was to stay on its own side of the line. Pope Alexander VI made a famous award in the year 1493, and this division of the unknown world between Portugal and Spain was everywhere accepted. Even after the later Tudors in England had broken with Rome, they shrank for a time from openly assailing the political settlement which had become a part of the public law of Europe.

When in the course of the sixteenth century the Continent of Europe became the victim of religious dissensions, Protestant writers began to ridicule the Papal award. The English and the Dutch, having ambitions of their own, naturally did not see why the Portuguese and the Spanish should enjoy such a monopoly and in due course they broke it by themselves.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the result of the rise of the Turkish power as regards the trade between Europe and India? [1]
2. Which were the three trade routes between Europe and India? [2]
3. What part did Prince Henry the Navigator play in the search for a sea route to India? [3(b)]
4. What was the part played by Prince Henry's successors? [3(c)]
5. What attempts were made by England, Holland and Spain to discover the sea routes to India? [4]
6. Write a note on the Papal Bulls dividing the unknown world between Portugal and Spain. [5]

VII. RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

1. The Question. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, several Muslim dynasties ruled in

India, where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were Hindus. It was so in the days of the Delhi Sultanate, and after its break-up the state of affairs remained the same; other Muslim rulers replaced the Sultans of Delhi. The question naturally arises: How did the Hindus and the Muslims get on together?

2. The Answer. It cannot be denied that at times the conquerors showed little regard for the conquered, but it would seem that, on the whole, Muslims and Hindus were on fairly friendly terms. It has even been stated that seldom in the history of mankind have two civilizations, so different from each other as the Hindu and the Muslim, met and mingled with greater freedom from strife than in those days of the Muslim rule.

3. The Explanation. (a) *The Muslim Rulers.* The maintenance of peaceful relations mainly depended on the rulers of the country. If they did not follow a policy of religious persecution and thus stir up widespread resentment, the common people, Hindus and Muslims alike, displayed little hostility towards each other.

(b) *The Hindu Teachers.* Another factor that contributed to peace and harmony was the reformist movement started by a number of influential Hindu religious teachers. It would seem that the latter were impressed by the total absence of class distinctions among the Muslim believers and by the comparative simplicity of the Muslim creed. Accordingly, without giving up Hinduism, these teachers began to simplify the practice of the Hindu religion.

(c) *The Bhakti Cult.* Most of them were followers of the Bhakti cult, i.e., loving devotion to the deity, not only in theory but in practice. Accordingly they taught that a man's birth was of little importance; what mat-

tered was his way of acting. They did not attach any great value to the caste system, pilgrimages and river-bathing; they preached a more direct approach to the deity by loving service rather than by an endless series of rebirths. The result was that their followers became less aggressive in the observance of public religious rites and ceremonies, and the Muslims reacted by showing greater tolerance.

4. Religious Teachers. A number of great teachers preached and practised this new doctrine. In order to form a correct idea of their influence, it has to be borne in mind that these teachers were great travellers, and visited various parts of their vast country. Most of them gathered disciples around them, who, in turn, spread their masters' teaching. Some of them left behind them written books containing their doctrines, others built shrines and *mathas* or monasteries. They have their followers to this day.

(a) RAMANUJA (1017-1137) was the first in order of time. He was born in Southern India and died more than a hundred years later, according to some authorities at the age of 120. It has been said of him that he was equal in learning to the great masters of the days of King Kanishka. He was a fervent devotee of Vishnu, and it was mainly due to his influence that the Vaishnava movement took the place of Jainism.

The earliest devotees of Vishnu were the *Alvars*, who represented the emotional aspect of Vaishnavism. After them came the *Acharyas*, who represented its intellectual side. Among the greatest of these *Acharyas* was Ramanuja. He preached in Southern India, and made Kanchi (Conjeevaram) and Srirangam, near Trichinopoly, the headquarters of his school of thought.

Like other religious teachers he gained many fol-

lowers and also made not a few enemies, and for some time he had to seek refuge with the Hoysalas, who ruled in that part of Southern India now known as Mysore. His opponents were those who followed the teaching of Sankaracharya: 'There is but one being, one deity, and nothing else exists;' (*Advaita* or monism). Ramanuja, on the contrary, taught that other beings also existed, which were a part of the one being or deity, and yet distinct from it. He preached the Bhakti cult as the way to salvation and it was he who founded the school of philosophy known as *Visishtadvaita*.

(b) BASAVA (12th century) was the son of a Brahman family which had become influential in the kingdom of the Chalukyas of Kalyani (the Nizam's Dominions). During the reign of the Jaina king Bijalla (1156-1167), Basava's family had good reason to be proud of him, for he became the king's minister.

Among others who rejoiced at his rise to power were the members of the Virasaiva or Lingayat sect. The latter displayed great zeal for social reform and in particular for the improvement of the position and treatment of women. They rejected the authority of the Vedas, did not accept the doctrine of rebirth, and preached the equality of all men as children of one and the same deity that was worshipped under different names. The Lingayats found a strong supporter in Basava, who was always ready to assist them.

Bijalla, as a Jain, held different religious opinions, and soon the king and his minister were at war. In the ensuing conflict Basava proved victorious, and he continued to make use of his political influence to spread the doctrines of the Lingayats, worshippers of Siva. He was not their founder but became their acknowledged leader, and held with them that love of God and moral discipline were the chief essentials in attaining salvation.

Under his influence the worship of Siva became widespread, while Jainism and Buddhism steadily declined.

(c) DNYANESHWAR (13th century) was born at Alandi, near Poona. The exact dates of his birth and death are not known. He probably died about 1300. Throughout Maharashtra his name is still on the lips not only of the learned but also of the simple country people, for a number of the devotional hymns and prayers which he composed are sung or recited in many a Marathi village to this day. Even the children know all about him, for many a legend has been woven around his name, and they have been told by their teachers that the great Dnyaneshwar is said on one occasion to have made a buffalo speak and quote the Vedas. Learned scholars hold him in high esteem because he is the acknowledged Father of the Old Marathi language. He also wrote for their benefit a philosophical treatise called *Amirtanabhav*, which is as profound and difficult as his hymns are simple and clear.

He was a teacher of the Bhakti cult, and sought and found the way into the hearts of men by song and prayer. One of his favourite sayings was: 'None is high and low with God.' The wonder is that he was able to achieve so much in the short span of life that was granted him, for he is believed to have died at the early age of twenty-two. Thus he had finished his allotted task by the time when most other men are just beginning their work in life. More than 600 years after his passing, his hymns and prayers continue to be a source of inspiration and comfort.

(d) MADHVA (1239-1317) was born at Kalianpur, near Udupi (South Kanara), and died at the age of seventy-nine. He spent the greater part of his long life as a religious teacher, for he renounced the world and became a *sannyasi* at the age of sixteen. As a preacher

he travelled far and wide through Southern India, and twice went to Northern India, where he probably met the famous Sultan Balban of Delhi (1266-1286).

He was an eloquent preacher, and it is said that a number of Jains, who had come to argue with him, ended by becoming his disciples. According to his teaching, devotion leads to knowledge, while prayer and love of God achieve salvation.

As a follower of the Bhakti cult, he insisted that masters must always show sympathy and kindness towards their inferiors, inferiors must reverence their superiors, and all men must love their equals.

He spent the whole of his life in preaching devotion to Krishna, and founded a temple in his honour at Udipi, where he established eight *mathas* (monasteries). He was a man of great scholarship, and is famous in particular for his commentaries on the *Brahma Sutras*, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. His followers who are called Madhavas, are chiefly found in Mysore and in North and South Karnatak.

(e) NARASINHA MEHTA (1415-1481) belonged to a Brahman family of Junagarh, whose members were devotees of Siva. He was himself an ardent follower of the Krishna cult. He was a gifted musician, and in his innermost heart believed that singing is one of the most efficient means to make others acquire either profane or religious knowledge. It has been said of him that he was born with a song in his heart and with a lilt in his feet.

He did not sing songs composed by other people, but was the actual author of the devotional hymns he sang, and even to this day he is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Gujarat. One of his hymns was greatly admired by Mahatma Gandhi, who loved to hear it sung.

He went about not only singing in praise of Krishna,

but with the whole of his body swinging in the rhythmical movements of a dance. People began by listening to him, but soon they were singing and dancing with him. He was one of the most popular religious teachers of his time.

His own family turned against him, however, because of his religious beliefs, and Narasinha was often in desperate need. In his wanderings he consorted and ate with all sorts of people, and this made his family still more bitter against him. He became an outcaste in their eyes, but he bore it all without complaining. His sole interest in life was to spread devotion to Krishna, and in this he was wonderfully successful.

(f) KABIR (1440-1518) was probably born near Banaras and died at Maghar in the district of Basti. Abandoned by his widowed Brahman mother, he was brought up by a charitable Muslim couple. He never forgot either his Hindu parents or Muslim benefactors. As a religious teacher he made it the object of his life to reconcile the Hindus and the Muslims. His favourite saying was: 'God abides in him within whose heart is truth'. He called himself a son of Allah and of Rama, and repeatedly told his followers that Hindus and Muslims were 'pots of the same clay'.

Like other preachers he travelled extensively and is said to have met Sikandar Lodi at Jaunpur in 1495. He preached in many places in North Bengal, and wherever he went he established religious centres, of which Banaras was the chief. He was so greatly respected and loved by all that, when he died, both the Hindus and the Muslims claimed him as their own, and a dispute arose as to whether he should be cremated or buried.

Kabir's teaching is also important for its influence upon another of the great religions of India in inspiring much of the work of Nanak, the founder of Sikhism.

(g) NANAK (1469-1538) was born at Talwandi, near Lahore. During his whole life he preached religious tolerance and tried to bring together the followers of the *Vedas* and of Islam, by founding a religion acceptable to both parties. His new religion proclaimed the belief in one God which is common to all the world's highest religions, and comprised what was good in both Hinduism and Islam.

During his lifetime the Sikhs, whose name means 'the disciples', formed a non-sectarian religious body, whose members were either Hindus or Muslims. After his death in 1538 they remained a purely religious sect until 1606, when the first seeds of militarism were sown among them by the fifth Guru, Arjun.

(h) CHAITANYA (1485-1533) was the gifted son of a Brahman family of Calcutta. He married at the age of eighteen, like many other young men, but when he was twenty-eight he renounced the pleasures of family life and started on his great spiritual mission. Like Narsinha Mehta, he went about preaching and singing. He formed *Kirtana* parties of singers and dancers, who like him went everywhere singing in praise of Krishna. He himself was often so overwhelmed by religious fervour that he sang as though in a trance.

He preached the Bhakti cult in many parts of India: Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere. Loving devotion to God, he taught, could best be shown by helping and loving the weak, the infirm and the old. He was a believer in the universal brotherhood of men, and had no regard for the caste system. Moreover, he insisted on prayer rather than on the observance of religious rites. The greatness of his influence may be gathered from several biographical accounts of him written shortly after his death of which the most famous is the *Chaitanyacharitamrita*.

(i) TUKARAM (1600-1649), one of the great Marathi religious teachers, was born at Dehu, near Poona. He preached the doctrine of devotion to God, before whom all men are equal. He did not admit any distinction of caste, and condemned *Advaita* or the worship of an impersonal deity without attributes. At the same time, though he paid a yearly visit to the shrine of Vithoba at Pandharpur, he was always opposed to idol worship.

There were many who objected to his teaching, which was contrary to the accepted beliefs of the people of Maharashtra, but it appears to be a fact that Shivaji himself at times attended Tukaram's discourses in disguise. The two never came into close contact, however, because Tukaram could never be persuaded to visit Shivaji's court.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims during the period of the Delhi Sultanate and afterwards; and how are they to be explained?
2. Write short notes on Dnyaneshwar and Tukaram.
3. Write a short note on the religious reformist movements, and mention two great religious teachers by way of example.

VIII. THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

(1526-1856)

I. THE MUGHUL EMPERORS

A. BABAR THE BRAVE (1526-1530)

1. Before 1526. Babar, a lineal descendant of Timur, was born in 1483 in Farghana. Eleven years later, after his father's death, he became Farghana's ruler. Afterwards he twice failed to conquer Samarkand, and was himself deprived of Farghana by his scheming kinsmen. He then crossed into Afghanistan, where he made him-

self the master of Kabul in 1504. He was eager to extend his power eastwards, and he made several raids into India without, however, permanently occupying any part of the country.

2. The Unexpected Invitation. Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan of Delhi, had many enemies. Among the latter, his own uncle, Alam Khan, and a powerful Afghan noble, Daulat Khan, were eager to bring about his downfall.



MUGHULS ATTACKING A FORT

They approached Babar, who at once complied with their request for assistance, invaded India and occupied Lahore (1524). The intriguing uncle and the discontented noble then realized that they were no better off than before, and they forced Babar to return to Kabul. But towards the end of the following year Babar was back in India and marched upon Delhi by way of Panipat.

3. Babar's Conquests. (a) *The Battle of Panipat* (1526). The decisive battle, of which India was the prize, was fought at Panipat in April 1526. Babar had

at his disposal a large park of artillery and a well-trained body of cavalry. His soldiers were sturdy fighting men, while he was himself an experienced military leader, who had fought many a battle in the past, and taught by experience. Ibrahim Lodi, on the contrary, had no military gifts to speak of, and was over-confident. When the day was over, 5,000 corpses were piled about the slain emperor, and Babar was the master of Delhi; with the rich and fertile plains of Northern India urging him on to make further conquests.

Accordingly, his son, Humayun, was assigned the task of conquering Muslim India, Bihar and Jaunpur, while Babar took in hand the conquest of Hindu India, which proved more difficult than had been expected.

(b) *Rana Sangram Singh*. The ruler of Chitor was a battle-scarred warrior of a hundred fights. He mustered his men against Babar, and advanced upon Agra at the head of a formidable host. The opposing forces met at Khanua, a little village about ten miles from Sikri, where the tragedy of Panipat was repeated. Once more superior leadership and artillery won the day (1527).

Following up his victory, Babar invaded Rajputana, by way of Chanderi, a famous Rajput stronghold, which held out for a week and did not fall into Mughul hands until its heroic defenders had perished to the last man (1528).

Khanua and Chanderi sealed the fate of Hindu India for the successor of the brave Rana Sangram Singh made his submission to the Mughul emperor.

(c) *The Afghan Chieftains*. Hearing that the Afghan rulers of the north were up in arms against him, Babar next made forced marches towards Kanauj. Then he turned in an easterly direction and came up with the Afghans on the banks of the Gogra. He defeated them in the neighbourhood of Patna (1529).

Afterwards he returned to Agra, where he died in the following year (1530). His Indian conquests comprised Rajputana and the Muslim kingdoms north of the Jumna and the Ganges as far as the western boundaries of Bengal.

4. Babar the Brave. His bravery is proved by the great difficulties which he had to face, and which he overcame.

(a) *Difficulties.* Babar's army was comparatively small, and the country was so vast that its conquest meant endless riding and marching for soldiers not accustomed to the Indian climate. Moreover, Babar had to reckon with the hostile religious feelings of the inhabitants. The Hindus looked upon the Muslims as the enemies of their country and their religion; while the Afghans had no strong religious kinship with the Mughuls, whom they regarded as lax Muslims.

(b) *Difficulties Overcome.* Babar's success was partly due to the divided state of Northern India. The country was under Muslim rule, except for Rajputana in the north, and Vijayanagar in the south. There were six great Muslim kingdoms in the north and five more in the Deccan. There was the traditional opposition between Rajputs and Afghans, between Vijayanagar and the Deccan Sultanates. Moreover, the Hindus were not united among themselves, and the Muslims were equally divided. Babar profited by the prevailing confusion.

At the same time his personal bravery was largely responsible for his success. He was a man of incredible daring and restless energy. He displayed a physical endurance which enabled him to make extensive conquests in the short space of four years. He was not content to entrust the leadership to others, but marched in person from one battlefield to another, wherever there

was an enemy to be vanquished. In the great battles of Panipat and Khanua, the use of artillery would not have won the day but for Babar's own courage and leadership.

5. Babar's Place in Mughul History. Babar can hardly be called the founder of the Mughul empire, for he died while it was still in the making, before he could begin the work of organizing the conquests he had made.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief sketch of Babar: prior to 1526 [1], and from 1526 to 1530. [2-3]
2. What difficulties had Babar to overcome, and how did he overcome them? [4(a)-(b)]
3. What were the results of the battles of Panipat [3(a)] and of Khanua? [3(b)]
4. Write short notes on the battles of Panipat [3(a)], of Khanua [3(b)], and on the capture of Chanderi. [3(b)]
5. How were the Afghan rulers defeated? [3(c)]
6. Write notes on Daulat Khan [2], Ibrahim Lodi [3(a)], Rana Sangram Singh [3(b)], the Afghan rulers of the north. [3(c)]
7. Why was Babar not the founder of the Mughul empire? [5]

B. HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH (1530-40, 1555-56)

1. Humayun's Downfall. (a) *Unlike his Father.* Humayun, who succeeded his father on the throne, was deprived of it by Sher Shah. His downfall was of his own making, the result of self-indulgence and addiction to opium, brief outbursts of activity and long spells of idleness. He was not lacking in bravery, but his courage was not sustained, and rashness without real military ability led to his defeat.

(b) *Conflict in Gujarat.* Bahadur Shah was a powerful Muslim ruler, who had made a kingdom for himself by conquering Malwa, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar and Berar, and had also successfully waged war against

Chitor. In order to put a stop to Bahadur Shah's ambitious designs Humayun invaded Gujarat (1535). He was at first successful and captured Champaner and Ahmadabad. But he was unable to maintain the advantages he had secured. He had to leave Gujarat in a hurry for the north-eastern part of his empire, where Sher Shah had risen in rebellion against him (1537).

(c) *Conflict in Northern India (1538-1540)*. Sher Shah was at one time in Babar's service, but afterwards he became the leader of the Afghan opposition to Mughul rule. His open rebellion forced Humayun to wage war against him. Once more Humayun was at first completely successful. He captured the fort of Chunar, and advanced as far as Gaur in Bengal (1538). Then, instead of striking a final blow at his defeated enemy, he paused for some time to enjoy his triumph. Next, realizing that he was a dangerously long way from his capital, he determined to return home; but his return journey was impeded by the early rains, and his troops suffered from scarcity of food. Meanwhile Sher Shah had partially recovered from his losses, and he surprised the Mughul army at Buxar, and utterly routed it (1539). Less than a year later, in 1540, he inflicted a decisive defeat on Humayun at Kanauj. This battle made and unmade an emperor: Sher Shah ruled at Delhi, instead of Humayun.

2. Sher Shah's Administration. Sher Shah proved himself a wise administrator. He did not oppress his Hindu subjects, and made it his main concern to encourage agriculture. He set up a land revenue system, based on the quantity and the quality of the land under cultivation, and claimed a quarter of the produce for the State. He also built a trunk road from the Indus to Bengal, with caravansaries and wells at fixed intervals.

Travelling was made safe and easy, for Sher Shah drew up a set of civil and penal laws and administered justice without distinction of persons, so that evil doers did not escape punishment. He was the first to introduce the Persian *chapar* or mounted post, and effected many other useful reforms. He died in 1545.

3. Humayun's Restoration (1555-1556). For fifteen years Humayun was an exile and a fugitive, first in Sind, afterwards in Persia. After many misfortunes, he at last succeeded in capturing Kandahar and Kabul; but his position remained insecure till his brother, Kamran, was finally rendered incapable of plotting against him.

However, it was Sher Shah's untimely death that more than anything else paved the way for Humayun's return to India. Sher Shah's successors were inefficient rulers, and during the reign of the last ruler of the Sur dynasty, a Hindu tradesman, Hemu, became minister and the practical ruler of the country. Thereupon the Afghan nobles openly rebelled and Humayun profited by the prevailing confusion. He crossed the Indus, defeated Hemu, and occupied Delhi and Agra (1555). He did not long enjoy his restoration to power, for he died in January 1556.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of Humayun's downfall? [1(a)-(c)]
2. Give a brief account of the struggle for supremacy between Humayun and Sher Shah. [1(c)]
3. Write a note on Sher Shah's administration. [2]
4. What befell Humayun after he was defeated by Sher Shah, and how did he recover the throne of Delhi? [3]

C. AKBAR THE GREAT (1556-1605)

I. EARLY YEARS

1. Before His Accession (1542-1556). It was while his father, Humayun, was a homeless wanderer in Sind,

that Akbar was born at Amarkot on November 23rd, 1542, not in a royal palace, but in a fugitive's camp. However, from that day onwards, fortune once more began to smile on Humayun. The ruler of Persia befriended him, Afghanistan was reconquered, the heartless Kamran, Humayun's brother and his greatest enemy, was defeated, and Sher Shah died (1542-1555). When Humayun died in 1556, Akbar was a little over thirteen years old, and had been constantly travelling from place to place with his father's armies.

2. His Accession. After Humayun's death there were several claimants to the throne of Delhi: Akbar, two princes of the Sur dynasty, and the Hindu minister, Hemu. The last mentioned was the first to assert his claim. He took possession of Agra and Delhi, and assumed the title of Raja Vikramji. He then marched against the Mughuls, and the opposing forces met on the historic field of Panipat, where Babar had defeated Ibrahim Lodi in 1526.

Hemu was an able general, and in command of a large army with 1,500 war elephants. But Bairam Khan, Akbar's faithful guardian, was also a tried warrior, and in November 1556 he gained a decisive victory over the Hindu minister. Some say that Bairam Khan showed himself the better military leader, others hold that Hemu was winning the battle when a chance arrow struck him in the eye. His followers became panic-stricken, and Hemu was captured and killed, the first blow being struck, it is said, by the young Akbar, urged on by Bairam Khan. After Hemu's death, the two princes of the Sur dynasty gave up every claim to the throne of Delhi. The second battle of Panipat placed Akbar in undisputed possession of the throne, and marked the beginning of the Mughul empire, of which he was the founder.

3. After His Accession (1556-1560). During the first four years of his reign, Akbar had no say in the government of his possessions. Bairam Khan was the actual ruler, and recovered nearly all the territories which Humayun had lost. He regained possession of the Punjab with the district of Multan, as well as the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna as far as Allahabad.

Towards the end of 1560 Akbar had had enough of Bairam Khan's guardianship and dismissed him from his service. Some authorities say that he did so of his own accord, but others are of opinion that Bairam Khan was the victim of intriguing courtiers who prevailed on Akbar to get rid of the faithful soldier who had stood by Humayun in his misfortunes, and who had won back for Akbar the throne of Delhi.

Bairam Khan had perforce to accept his dismissal, and agreed to go to Mecca, as he had been ordered. Shortly afterwards he changed his mind, and tried to regain his lost position by the sword. He was defeated at Jullundur, but his rebellion was forgiven. This time he set out for Mecca, only to be murdered on the way in January 1561 by an Afghan whose father he had defeated in battle.

Although Bairam Khan was now out of the way, Akbar did not immediately become independent. For two years more (1560-1562) he was under the influence of his foster-mother, Maham Anaga, and her relatives and attendants, a period of what is called 'petticoat government', to indicate that the real power is exercised by a woman. During these two years Adham Khan, Maham Anaga's son, occupied Malwa.

It was only after Maham Anaga's death in 1562 that Akbar became his own master, and the master of the Mughul empire.

II. THE CONQUEROR

For a period of almost forty years (1562-1601) Akbar extended his dominions by constantly waging war against the rulers of neighbouring states and conquering their territories.

1. Conquest of Gondwana (1564). The kingdom of Gondwana, in the northern part of the Central Provinces, was the first to be conquered by Akbar's general Asaf Khan. It was valiantly defended by Durgavati, who ruled as regent on behalf of her son, but she was defeated at Chauragarh, near Narsinghpur. Durgavati preferred death to disgrace, and her son continued to struggle till he died in battle.

2. Suppression of Rebellions (1564-1565). The ruler of Malwa, whose country had been conquered by Adham Khan, recovered it for some years, and the ruler of Jaunpur likewise rebelled. When Akbar undertook a serious campaign against them, their rebellion came to an end.

3. Rajputana Campaign (1567-1572). In 1562 Adham Khan had captured Merta (Jodhpur), a Rajputana stronghold. In 1567 Akbar began preparations to conquer the whole of Rajputana. Udai Singh of Chitor (Udaipur) had none of the manliness of his father, Rana Sangram Singh, who had valiantly opposed Babar's attempt to conquer Rajputana. He fled from Chitor instead of defending it, but his followers, notably Jaimall and Patta, held the fortress-town for four months, from October 1567 to February 1568. They both fought and died as Rajputs, and so did their men. Chitor was at last stormed and captured.

The fall of Chitor was the beginning of the end of Rajputana's independence. In quick succession the Raj-

put chiefs of Ranthambor, Kalinjar, Bikaner and Jaisalmer acknowledged Akbar's overlordship, and the campaign came to an end in 1572, when Rajputana became a province of the Mughul empire.

Pratap Singh, the Rana of Mewar, however, refused to surrender. He was as bold as his father, Udai Singh, had been craven. In April 1576, he and his clansmen faced the Mughul fighting men at the Haldighat Pass near Gogunda, situated to the north-west of Udaipur. Pratap was defeated, and would have fallen into the hands of his enemies if the chief of Jhala had not deceived the Mughul soldiers by pretending to be the Rana. He thus became the centre of the Mughul onslaught, and Pratap Singh made good his escape and sought refuge in the wild regions of the mountains. There he continued the unequal fight till his death on January 19th, 1597, at the age of fifty-seven, defeated but unconquered.

4. Conquest of Gujarat (1572-1573). Next came the turn of Gujarat, with its rich and fertile fields and its flourishing seaports. Profiting by the prevailing dissensions, Akbar marched into the country, and without striking a blow occupied Ahmadabad, where the Sultan, Muzaffar III, submitted to him and surrendered his capital. Then Akbar went on still farther till he reached Cambay, where for the first time he saw the boundless sea, and afterwards captured Surat. The whole of Gujarat was thus added to his ever-growing dominions.

Conquest of Bengal (1574-1592). Akbar was now in a position to seek new conquests in another direction. After Sher Shah's death in 1545, Suleiman Karani, the Governor of Bihar, had established himself as an independent ruler and occupied a part of Bengal. He was on friendly terms with Akbar, whom he had acknow-

ledged as his suzerain. But after his death in 1572, his son and successor, Daud Khan, was rash enough to defy Akbar's power. Before long, the rash young ruler found out his mistake. The Mughul armies advanced against him, and Daud Khan, after suffering several reverses, was defeated in 1575 at Tukaroi, situated on the Orissa-Bengal border. He was not deprived of his kingdom, however, and shortly afterwards he once more took up arms against the Mughul emperor. This time he was defeated and killed in the battle of Rajmahal in Bihar, and his kingdom was annexed in 1576. Nevertheless there were serious rebellions later, and it was not till 1592 that Orissa was at last completely conquered.

5. Conquests in North-West India (1586-1594).

Akbar now set himself to extend his empire towards the north-west. He conquered Kashmir, subdued various Afghan tribes around the plain of Peshawar, annexed Baluchistan and Sind, and finally occupied Kandahar.

6. In the Deccan (1591-1601). Akbar then turned towards the south. He first tried peaceful means to have his overlordship admitted in the Deccan Sultanates: but his ambassadors were unsuccessful, except in Khandesh, and he determined to have recourse to force. He was confident of victory, because the Sultanates were divided amongst themselves by mutual distrust and jealousy, and had been considerably weakened by long years of constant warfare.

However, the campaign lasted longer than he expected. When the Mughul forces, under the command of Prince Murad, Akbar's second son, besieged Ahmadnagar in 1595, the town was heroically defended by Chand Bibi on behalf of the late ruler's son. At last Chand Bibi had to conclude a treaty with Prince Murad. She ceded

Berar to the Mughuls, and the boy-king of Ahmadnagar acknowledged Akbar as his overlord. Peace was made in 1596.

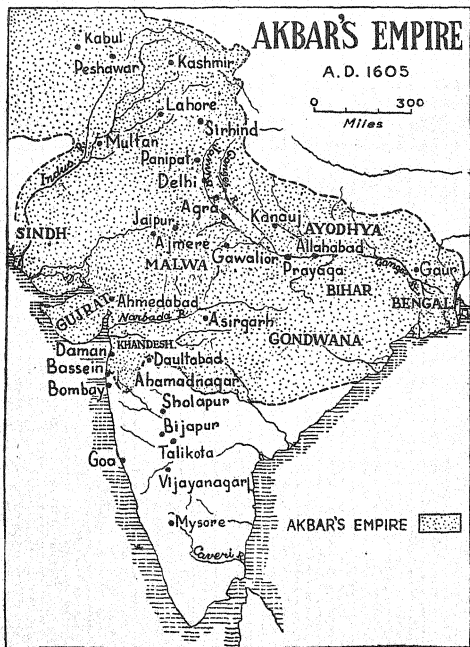
In the following year one of the parties opposed to Chand Bibi renewed the fight with the Mughuls in order to recover Berar, but they were defeated at Supa, near Ashti on the Godaveri. This reverse was productive of fresh internal dissensions, and Chand Bibi was treated as though she was a foreigner and not an Ahmadnagar Princess. Her political opponents at last brought about her death in 1600, in which year Ahmadnagar was once more besieged by the Mughuls and captured, when the kingdom was partly annexed.

N. B. Chand Bibi, known as the dowager-queen of Bijapur, was the daughter of Husain I, Sultan of Ahmadnagar (1553-1565). Shortly before her father's death she was married to Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur, who died in 1580, when she became dowager-queen of Bijapur. She returned to Ahmadnagar in 1584. Her heroic defence of Ahmadnagar against Prince Murad has won for her the title of 'the warrior queen'. It has been said of her that 'she was one of the noblest characters that the Deccan had ever produced. Her valour was unquestionable, and her sad fate excited a feeling of universal commiseration.'

The resistance met with at Ahmadnagar brought Akbar in person to the Deccan. He crossed the Narbada in 1599, and laid siege to Asirgarh, but all his efforts to capture the strongly defended fortress-town ended in failure. He had at last to use bribery and corruption in order to gain possession of it, and with its capture the campaign in the Deccan came to an end.

7. Result. After thirty-eight years of almost uninterrupted warfare Akbar's empire extended from the

Hindukush in the west to the Brahmaputra in the east, and from the Himalayas in the north to the upper course of the Kistna in the south.



Summary. The Mughul empire, of which Akbar was the real founder, was a lofty structure created by warlike ambition, and made up of many conquered countries. The foundation stone of the structure was laid, not by Akbar, but by Bairam Khan and Adham Khan. The former won for Akbar the battle of Panipat, reconquered the Punjab, the district of Multan, and the territory between the Jumna and the Ganges (1558-1560). Adham Khan conquered Malwa (1560-1562). Akbar's own conquests, after he had freed himself from Bairam Khan's guardianship and from the influence of intriguing courtiers, comprised Rajputana, Gujarat, Bengal, Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Kandahar, Baluchistan, Sind, Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar.

III. THE ADMINISTRATOR

1. Broadminded Ruler. (*a*) *Conquered Rulers.* Unlike other conquerors who glory in the destruction of their enemies and make themselves hated by their vanquished foes, Akbar made it a rule never to crush those whom he defeated in battle, and whose territories he annexed. He was anxious to secure the goodwill of the conquered rulers.

He won the friendship of the proud Rajput chiefs by trusting them and giving them responsible commands in his army. He arranged marriage alliances between the daughters of the Ranas and the members of the imperial house or powerful Muslim families. When such marriages had taken place in other reigns the Hindu bride had had to adopt the religion of the Muslim husband. Akbar did not interfere with the religious practices of the women who married into the royal family. Moreover, a hitherto unheard-of thing, he acknowledged the male connections of the Hindu bride as members of the royal family.

(b) *The Common People.* Nor did he in any way oppress the common people, who made up the overwhelming majority of his subjects. From the very beginning he abolished the practice by which the soldiers of a victorious army claimed the right to sell as slaves the women and the children of the vanquished. He protected the conquered Hindu population, and by his pro-Hindu measures he made them feel that he cared for their welfare. His policy was one of religious toleration and he never made people suffer because of their religious beliefs as other Muslim rulers did both before or after him.

The Hindus, perhaps more than any other people, love to make pilgrimages to sacred places. Their Muslim masters often profited by this to increase their revenue by enforcing a pilgrim tax. Akbar suppressed the pilgrim tax, a measure which was much appreciated by all his Hindu subjects. In the same manner he did away with the hated *jizya* which every Hindu had to pay to the Muslim ruler of the land because he was not a believer in Islam.

(c) *Attempted Reforms.* However, while allowing his subjects, both the princes and the common people, full liberty of conscience, Akbar tried to put a stop to certain religious practices which were a cause of suffering or of death to others. He did so with commendable prudence, without offending the religious feelings of the Hindus. In Rajputana the Hindu rite of *Sati* was so commonly practised that Akbar realized that he could not forbid it absolutely without causing civil disturbances. He therefore issued orders that no Hindu widow could be forced to ascend the funeral pyre against her will. He also endeavoured to do away with the practice of child marriage, and he encouraged the re-marriage of widows and forbade trial by ordeal. In all this, Akbar

was far ahead of his times, and in the sixteenth century he showed himself anxious to introduce reforms for which social workers and the leaders of the reformist movements are still having to press in the twentieth century.

(d) *The Result.* The emperor's policy of conciliation and religious toleration towards high and low, benefited both the empire and its ruler. It enabled Akbar to proceed on his career of conquest for a long period of about forty years, without his army ever being in difficulties for want of fighting men. There were always fresh recruits ready to join the imperial forces. Little by little it became a common sight to see Mughuls, Afghans and Hindus fighting side by side against the enemies of the empire, while among the generals and high-ranking officers there were both Muslims and Hindus.

2. Trusting Ruler. As an administrator Akbar trusted and supported the officials in authority under him, and thus was able to enlist and retain the services of really capable men, who were entirely devoted to him. Among these faithful servants the most remarkable was Todar Mall, who devised the land revenue system in conquered Gujarat.

Todar Mall made the village community the basis of his scheme. He divided the lands into three separate classes according to their productiveness. The lands were also accurately measured so that the amount which the owner had to pay depended on the quantity and the quality of the cultivated land.

Furthermore, under this new system, the collection of the land tax was no longer entrusted to rapacious contractors, but was carried out by a local official, called an *Amalgazar*, whose business it was to look after the well-

being of the peasants. He was, therefore, not merely a tax collector, but also a magistrate and a police officer. In fact his duties were very much like those of the magistrate and collector of a British district in later times. The Government's share was fixed at one-third of the gross produce.

Akbar lent efficient support to Todar Mall's efforts. He abolished the system of conferring grants of land on the generals in command of the army, to enable them to pay their soldiers. The generals often neglected to do this, and the soldiers, whose pay was often in arrears, used to force the local people to give them money and anything else they needed. Instead, Akbar gave orders that the soldiers should be paid in cash, whenever possible—a measure which benefited both the soldiers and the people while it did not interfere with the peaceful collection of the land tax.

3. Exacting Ruler. (a) *Strict Control.* It has been said that 'the Mughul government was a one-man rule, and that the ministers directed the administration only when the emperor slept'. In other words, the officials were strictly watched and their doings were carefully controlled by their master.

(b) *The Central Government.* The general administration was looked after by a number of ministers: the *Vakil* (prime minister), the *Vizier* or *Diwan* (finance minister), the *Bakshi* (war minister,) the *Sadr* (minister of religion), the *Kazi* (the chief justice).

These men were directly under Akbar's control. Of them it has been written that 'they were the pillars of the state; but like the pillars of the Taj Mahal, they did not support the building, but added to its unity, majesty and beauty'. For all that, without them the administration of the empire would have been impossible.

(c) *Provincial Government.* The empire was divided into eighteen *subhas* or provinces, each under a viceroy or a governor, assisted by ministers, whose duties were the same as those of the ministers of the central government, in a more limited area. The viceroys or governors and their ministers were likewise under strict imperial control. The *subha* or province was divided into *sarkars* or districts, each under a *faujdar*; and the district was sub-divided into *parganas* or *mahals*, each under a *kotwal*.

(d) *The Mansabdars.* Among the many officials, the most important and the most numerous were the *mansabdars*, whose chief duty was to supply a number of troops for the imperial army. There were thirty-three classes of them, from the commander of ten to the commander of 10,000, and in-between commanders of varying numbers of men. They were highly paid and the emperor depended on them for the recruitment of his army.

N. B. It stands to reason that Akbar was not in a position to exercise the same watchfulness and control over all the branches of government administration. It was impossible for him to know whether his orders were obeyed in districts far remote from the centre. But the system of government he established, without being perfect, is deserving of high praise.

Summary. Akbar was a wise administrator, broad-minded, trusting yet exacting. He won the friendship of the Rajput princes and showed his care for the welfare of the common people by suppressing unjust laws and attempting useful reforms. He trusted those in his service and co-operated with them. At the same time, he carefully watched the officials entrusted with the administration of the empire: the ministers at the centre, the provincial viceroys or governors and, as far

as in him lay, other subordinate officials, the *faujdar* and the *kotwal*. Among the many officials, the *mansabdars* had to supply the fighting men for his armies. Akbar's control over his vast empire was most efficient at the centre.

IV. THE GREATEST MUGHUL EMPEROR

1. The Founder of the Mughul Empire. Akbar was a greater ruler than any of his predecessors or successors on the throne of Delhi. Among those who preceded him, Babar was a great conqueror, but he had no time to organize the conquests he made, while Humayun lost the empire, and just managed to recover a part of it before he died. As regards Akbar's successors, Jehangir 'The World's Conqueror', instead of ruling was himself ruled by Nur Jahan. Shah Jahan, 'The Magnificent,' was, above all, a lover of art and a builder of palaces. Aurangzeb, though apparently most successful, brought about the destruction of the Mughul empire, although its ruin did not come till after his death. Therefore, Akbar may rightly be considered as the founder of the Mughul empire: he was a great conqueror and a wise administrator.

2. Courageous and Energetic. Akbar's most outstanding qualities were his courage and his energy. When he ascended the throne the difficulties he had to overcome were much the same as those which Babar had had to face. The Mughul army was comparatively small, the country to be conquered was of great extent, the Hindus looked upon the Mughuls as the enemies not only of their country but also of their creed, while the Afghans looked down upon the Mughuls and considered them to be lax followers of the Prophet.

All these difficulties were successfully overcome, from 1556 to 1562, by Akbar's faithful servants, Bairam Khan

and Adham Khan; from 1562 onwards by Akbar himself. He was invariably victorious from 1562 to 1601, when he failed to capture Asirgarh by force of arms. Undoubtedly good fortune was on his side, but almost forty years of uninterrupted success cannot be accounted for by good luck alone.

It was his courage that enabled him to be a successful conqueror; not that alone but also his indefatigable energy. Unlike his father, Humayun, Akbar did not care for comfort and ease; on the contrary, he never spared himself. On one occasion he made a famous ride across Rajputana when he covered 600 miles in eleven days. His triumphs came from a combination of luck and pluck.

3. Military and Administrative Genius. Akbar's success on the battlefield was also to a great extent due to his military genius. Time after time he faced superior forces and won the day. For example, during the conquest of Gujarat, with no more than 3,000 horsemen, he routed an enemy force 20,000 strong.

He displayed an equally remarkable skill, amounting to genius, in the administration of the conquered territories. He proved himself a ruler who was broad-minded, trusting and generous, though exacting (*See III*).

V. AKBAR'S CHARACTER

Akbar had many high qualities of body and mind. His bodily strength was great and enabled him to display a wonderful activity. Though he had never learned how to read and write, his natural intelligence was unusually high, as is evident from his policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects and his wise administration (*See III*). All these qualities of mind and body were used in

the service of his unbridled ambition. He was born to be a king, indeed an emperor.

An instance of his love of power, and also of his liberal ideals in religious matters, was his attempt to establish a new religion, the *Din-i-Ilahi* or 'The Divine Faith'. The new creed was a mixture of several religions, so that it might appeal to Muslims, Hindus and Christians. Though many time-serving courtiers embraced it, the new religion never became popular, and after Akbar's death the Divine Faith disappeared.

VI. PROMINENT MEN

1. Todar Mall. He was a great soldier and a great statesman, and it has been said of him that he left no one to equal him in honesty and administrative skill. He was one of Akbar's most trusted servants. Shortly after Akbar had conquered Gujarat, Todar Mall devised his famous land revenue system, which greatly benefited both the ruler and the ruled. Later on, he established the same system in many parts of the empire. At a still later period, Shah Jahan the Magnificent was able to indulge his passion for building, because Murshid Kuli Khan extended Todar Mall's revenue system to the Deccan, with the result that immense sums of money filled the imperial treasury.

2. Abul Fazl. He is said to have been the ablest man in Akbar's service. Of profound learning and untiring industry, he was for many years Akbar's confidential secretary and adviser. He compiled the *Ain-i-Akbari*, 'The Institutes of Akbar,' which give a wonderful survey of the Mughul empire in those days.

3. Bairam Khan. He was a skilful general, a loyal servant of Humayun and the faithful guardian of the

young Akbar. He was present at the disastrous battle of Kanauj, where Humayun was defeated, and he followed his homeless master in his wanderings, shared his exile, and returned to India with him in 1555. After Humayun's death he showed equal attachment to Akbar, won him the battle of Panipat and re-conquered a large part of the lost territories.

The story of his dismissal is a much discussed point. Some say that Akbar dismissed him of his own accord. Others hold that Bairam Khan was the victim of court intrigues. The attempt he made to recover his lost position is condemned by some as a rebellion, but is excused by others, as an attempt not against Akbar but against the courtiers who had brought about his downfall. He was defeated, pardoned, sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca and murdered on the way. Never did long years of faithful service end more tragically.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a short account of Akbar's early years from his birth to the beginning of his personal rule. [I, 1-3]
2. Show that the Mughul empire was a lofty structure created by conquering ambition; mention the conquests made on behalf of Akbar by others, and the conquests he himself made. [II, 1-7 and Summary]
3. Write short notes on Durgavati of Gondwana [II, I], Pratap Singh of Mewar [II, 3] and Chand Bibi. [II, 6, N.B.]
4. Show that Akbar was a wise administrator by proving himself a broadminded, trusting and exacting ruler. [III, 1-3]
5. How did Akbar treat the conquered princes and the common people? [III, 1 (a)-(c)]
6. Show how well Akbar was served by Todar Mall, or give a brief account of Todar Mall's revenue system. [III, 2 & VI(a)]
7. Write a brief note on the administration of the Mughul empire in the days of Akbar. [III, 3(a)-(b), N.B. and Summary]
8. Show that Akbar was the greatest Mughul emperor. [IV, 1-3]
9. How do you account for Akbar's success? [IV, 2-3]
10. Write a brief character sketch of Akbar. [V]
11. Write short notes on Todar Mall, Abul Fazl and Bairam Khan. [VI]

D. JEHANGIR AND NUR JAHAN (1605-1627)

1. Accession. The dark cloud that overshadowed Akbar's closing days was the moral baseness of his three sons. Murad and Daniyal died drunkards; and Salim, the future Jehangir, tried to murder Abul Fazl, his father's most trusted servant. After Akbar's death, Salim was treated by his own son, Kushrau, in the same way as he had treated Akbar. Kushrau tried to secure the throne for himself, and Jehangir had to wage war against him. He defeated his rebel offspring, mercilessly put to death his followers, and imprisoned Kushrau himself, who was murdered in 1622 by his rival and brother, Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan. After Kushrau's defeat, Salim became emperor and assumed the title of Jehangir, the Conqueror of the World.

2. The Figurehead. The Conqueror of the World fell a captive to a woman's charms when he married Nur Jahan in 1611. From then onwards Nur Jahan, her father, Itimad Khan, and her brother, Asaf Khan, practically ruled the empire (1611-1625).

3. Leading Events of his Reign. (a) *In Rajputana* (1611-1614). The Rajputs rose against their Mughul masters and under the leadership of Rana Amar Singh made a brave attempt to recover their independence; but in 1614 they were finally defeated by Prince Khurram, Jehangir's son. (b) *In the Deccan.* Prince Khurram also defeated Malik Ambar's attempt to set himself up as an independent ruler in Ahmadnagar (1616).

4. The Last Five Years (1622-1627). The last five years saw bitter family quarrels. Nur Jahan, ignoring

Prince Khurram's claims, was anxious to secure the succession for her son-in-law, Shaharyar. She might have succeeded if she had not quarrelled with Mahabat Khan, the most famous Mughul general of those days. The latter carried off the emperor, and sided with Prince Khurram. To make matters worse, Nur Jahan's brother, Asaf Khan, also declared himself in favour of Prince Khurram, who happened to be his son-in-law. The result was that when Jehangir died in 1627, Nur Jahan found herself without any supporters and retired into private life.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Prince Kushrau's rebellion end? [1]
2. Who was the real ruler of the empire during Jehangir's reign? [2]
3. Give a brief sketch of Prince Khurram. [2-4]
4. What was the cause of Nur Jahan's downfall? [4]

E. SHAH JAHAN THE BUILDER (1627-1658)

1. Accession. When Jehangir died, Prince Shaharyar was the acknowledged heir apparent. But he was no match for his uncle, Asaf Khan, who wanted his son-in-law, Prince Khurram, to become emperor. Prince Khurram hastened to Delhi, proclaimed himself emperor and ascended the throne as Shah Jahan, while Prince Shaharyar was made prisoner and blinded.

2. The Warrior. Before ascending the throne, he had overcome the opposition of the Rajputs, defeated Malik Ambar in the Deccan, and frustrated Nur Jahan's plans to deprive him of the succession. Once he was emperor, he displayed the same warlike spirit.

(a) *War with the Portuguese.* Shah Jahan never forgot that the Portuguese, who had a warehouse on the Hughli

in Bengal, had refused his request for assistance when he was a fugitive from Nur Jahan's schemes against him. On the plea that the Portuguese were practising piracy and bent on acquiring new territories, Shah Jahan gave orders for their expulsion from his dominions. In 1632 Hughli was besieged and captured, and many of its defenders killed.



SHAH JAHAN HUNTING

(b) *War with Khan Jahan Lodi (1630-1632).* Jahan Lodi, an Afghan general in the imperial service and the viceroy of the Deccan, allied himself with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, and tried to become an independent ruler. He was defeated by the imperial armies and was killed (1632).

(c) *War in Afghanistan (1649-1653).* In 1649 the Persians succeeded in capturing Kandahar, a city which was so important that Shah Jahan was bent on recovering it. Three times were the imperial armies sent to besiege and recapture it; and three times they failed.

(d) *War in the Deccan (1636-1656).* After Khan Jahan Lodi's defeat, when the Deccan was in a state of great unrest, Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb, was for the first time appointed viceroy of the province (1636-1644). He spent his time mainly in putting down rebel chieftains, among them Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji's father, one of the first Marathas to fight against the Mughuls. Aurangzeb was successful. He defeated the Sultan of Ahmadnagar,

who had allied himself with Khan Jahan Lodi against the Mughuls, and he annexed Ahmadnagar (1637). He also forced the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda, who had made common cause with Ahmadnagar, to pay tribute to the Mughul empire.

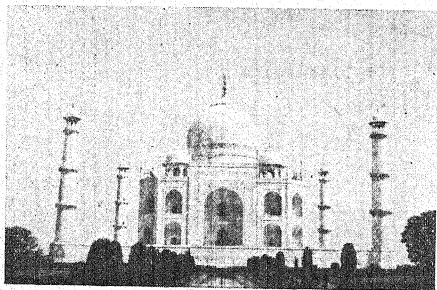
After his first term of office as viceroy, Aurangzeb twice failed to recapture Kandahar (1649-1652). On being again appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1652, he was anxious to make good the loss of military prestige he had thus suffered. He forced war upon Golkonda, defeated its ruler, and obliged him to pay a large indemnity and to cede a part of his territory (1656). Next he attacked Bijapur and besieged its capital. The city was, for the time being, saved by the news that Shah Jahan was dangerously ill. The ruler of Bijapur consented to pay a heavy fine on condition that the siege should be raised, and Aurangzeb hastened northwards on his way to Delhi (1657).

3. The Administrator. Shah Jahan was also a wise administrator. He was fortunate in having the services of Murshid Kuli Khan, a revenue officer of great ability, who did for him what Todar Mall had done for Akbar. Murshid Kuli Khan extended Todar Mall's revenue system to the Deccan, with the result that Shah Jahan's land revenue exceeded by one half the vast sums Akbar annually collected.

Moreover, Shah Jahan carefully watched over the civil administration of the empire. For one thing, travelling by the public highways was made safe for all, so agriculture flourished, and the majority of the people were prosperous.

4. The Builder. Owing to the wise and well-organized revenue system, the public treasury was kept filled to overflowing, and Shah Jahan was thus in a position

to indulge his passion for building cities and palaces. He transferred his capital from Agra to Shahjahanabad or New Delhi, a city planned and built under the emperor's supervision with lavish expenditure. He also built the Taj Mahal and the Pearl Mosque at Agra, and the great Jumna Masjid at Delhi—all of them works of unsurpassed architectural skill and masterpieces of such wondrous beauty that it has been said that Shah Jahan's workmen 'built like giants and finished their work like jewellers'.



THE TAJ MAHAL

The emperor had also a passion for pearls, precious stones and jewels, and he loved to make a display of his fantastic wealth. It was his practice to celebrate his coronation day by having himself annually weighed against gold pieces which were afterwards scattered among the crowd. His lavish expenditure has gained for him in history the name of Shah Jahan the Magnificent.

5. His Character. Shah Jahan the warrior, the builder, and the lover of art was, however, a cruel man. Long after he had become emperor, his son, Aurangzeb, once turned on him with words of burning indignation:

‘How do you still regard the memory of Kushrau and Parviz (Aurangzeb’s two brothers) whom you put to death before your accession, and who threatened no injury to you?’ He also gave orders that Prince Shahar-yar, who had tried to seize the throne, should be blinded; and to remain in undisputed possession of the empire, he gave the atrocious order that none of the race of Babar should be left alive, except his own sons. Finally, he often displayed a revolting cruelty in his methods of inflicting punishment.

QUESTIONS

1. What wars did Shah Jahan wage before his accession and after he became emperor? [2]
2. Write a note on Shah Jahan as an administrator. [3]
3. What made it possible for Shah Jahan to indulge his love for building without emptying his treasury? And why has he rightly been called Shah Jahan the Builder and Shah Jahan the Magnificent? [3, 4]

F. AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

1. Accession. Before Shah Jahan’s death, his four sons, Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, were fighting among themselves for the crown. Aurangzeb triumphed in this fratricidal strife, partly by treachery and partly by force of arms, and killed his three brothers.

2. Apparent Success. His long reign was to all appearances most successful, and his governors and generals were never defeated. In 1663 Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, invaded and subdued Assam. In 1666 his general, Shayista Khan, annexed Arakan. In 1672 the imperial armies crushed the Satnami rising and de-

feated the rebels at Narnaul in the Patiala State. In 1678-1680 he suppressed discontent and disaffection in Rajputana. In 1680 he



AURANGZEB

defeated his youngest son, Akbar, and drove him into exile. In 1686, he conquered and annexed Bijapur, and from 1664 till 1707 he was at war with the Marathas, and held his own against them.

He enlarged the boundaries of his dominions considerably, and when he died in 1707, the Mughul empire extended from the Himalayas in the north to the river Cauvery in the south, and from the shores of Gujarat in the

west to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

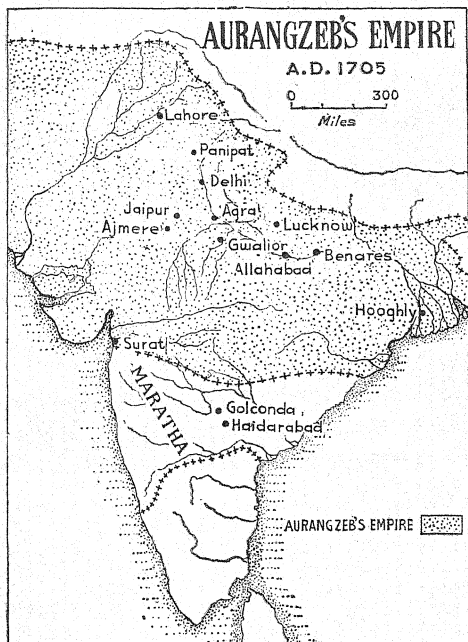
It has been stated that the land revenue also amounted to over 480,000,000 rupees, twice as much as Akbar collected, while the revenue from all sources has been estimated at 1,200,000,000 rupees.

3. Real Failure. (a) *Weakness of the Empire.* In spite of the many conquests made by Aurangzeb, the empire was becoming weaker and weaker during his reign, though the collapse did not come till after his death.

(b) *Causes of Growing Weakness. Suspicion.* Aurangzeb never trusted those who surrounded him, so that he could not reckon on the whole-hearted support of his own officers.

Religious Policy. Aurangzeb did not follow Akbar's

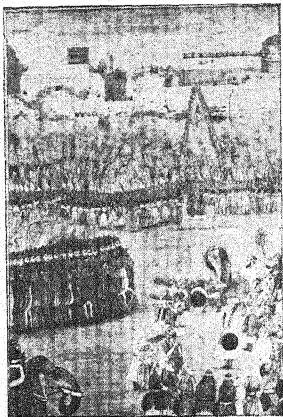
broadminded policy in his dealings with the Hindus. He razed Hindu temples to the ground, re-imposed the



hated *jizya*, and instead of encouraging marriage alliances between Hindus and Muslims, he deprived the

Hindus of every important office in the civil administration of the country and in the army.

His policy resulted in widespread discontent and unrest in Rajputana, which became the victim of revengeful warfare. The tragedy of Rajputana was repeated in the Deccan, where a young Maratha chieftain, called Shivaji, was able to gather the disaffected Hindus round him, and started a ceaseless guerilla



AT THE GATES OF GOLKONDA

warfare which in the end proved disastrous to the Mughul empire.

War with Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzeb's ambitious designs led him to conquer and annex the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda. These campaigns weakened his own army and made him many enemies among those Muslims in the Deccan who were in the service of the two Sultanates and now found themselves deprived of the means of earning a living.

QUESTIONS

1. What was Aurangzeb's military career before his accession to the throne? see previous section [2(d)], and what wars did he wage after he had become emperor? [2]
2. Substantiate the statement that Aurangzeb's reign was apparently a great success and in reality a dreadful failure. [2-3]
3. Compare Akbar and Aurangzeb, and show that the one created the Mughul empire and the other prepared its ruin.
4. What was the part played by the Rajputs in the history of the Mughul empire during the reign of Akbar and that of Aurangzeb?

II. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Causes. The following were the causes of the break-up of the Mughul empire: the state of the empire at Aurangzeb's death, the worthlessness of Aurangzeb's successors, internal dissensions and external aggressions.

(a) *The State of the Empire at Aurangzeb's Death.* Long years of ceaseless fighting had exhausted the Mughul armies without crushing the rebellious spirit of the enemies they had defeated. Aurangzeb's policy of persecution lost him the goodwill of the Hindus, and his destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda added to the number of his enemies among the Muslims. At the time of his death the empire was in a state of unrest and discontent.

(b) *Worthlessness of Aurangzeb's Successors.* The first six of Aurangzeb's successors were incapable rulers. The first two were under the influence of a capable but unscrupulous general Zulfikar Khan, who was the real ruler (1707-1713). The four remaining ones (1713-1748) were the creatures of two unscrupulous adventurers who earned for themselves the title of King-makers. Of these four, Farrukhsiyar was the nominal emperor from 1713 to 1719. He was succeeded by three boy-emperors, of whom the first two died within a few months after their accession; whilst the third reigned from 1719 to 1748.

These were followed by five puppet emperors (1748-1858), of whom the last was deposed after the Rising of 1857.

(c) *Internal Dissensions.* The empire was time after time the victim of internal dissensions because of the repeated contests for the succession to the throne. Moreover, the Sikhs rose in open rebellion in the north, while the Hindus were only too ready to throw off the Mughul yoke. The Rajputs were the first to take up arms against the Mughuls, and the Marathas were not slow to follow their example.

(d) *External Aggressions.* The crowning misfortune was the Persian invasion of India. In 1739 Nadir Shah, the emperor of Persia and Afghanistan, marched upon Delhi, captured and plundered the city, and returned home, laden with incredible riches. Towards the year 1748 the mighty Mughul Empire was reduced to a strip of land a little more than 100 miles broad and about 300 miles long.

QUESTION

What were the causes that brought about the break-up of the Mughul Empire?

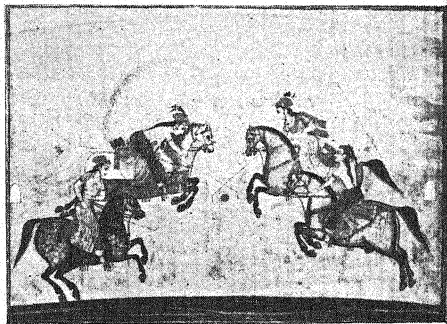
III. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

1. General Remark. These conditions depended to a large extent on the ruler of the country and the policy he pursued. As the Mughul emperors differed greatly in character, social and economic conditions varied considerably during the Mughul period.

2. Social Conditions. A few people lived in luxury, the great majority lived in poverty. The emperors, the courtiers, the higher officials, the provincial governors, the military commanders, were the privileged few. Next to them came the merchants, bent on making money and living in as much comfort and ease as they could

afford. Finally, there were the ordinary people, the peasants, who led a life of uninterrupted toil.

It must also be borne in mind that the peasants, most of whom were Hindus, were liable to suffer persecution on account of their religious belief, which made their lot still more miserable. Even wealthy non-Muslims never felt quite secure, because there was always the danger of their being deprived of their riches when the ruler of the land was swayed by fanatical religious prejudices.



MUGHAL LADIES PLAYING POLO

3. Economic Conditions. The revenue system, devised by Todar Mall and afterwards extended by Murshid Kuli Khan, is deserving of high praise. It benefited both the rulers and their subjects. Agriculture prospered during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Mughul emperors were constantly at war, which was a severe

drain on the country and adversely affected its economic progress. Great sums of money were spent, not on improving the country's welfare, but on financing military campaigns.

Moreover, on several occasions, outbreaks of famine in one province of the empire or another caused thousands to perish of starvation, and an equally great number died of the pestilence which usually followed in the wake of famine. In the neighbourhood of Agra the countryside was changed into a desert (1556-1557); in Gujarat the distress was so great that the inhabitants fled to other parts of the country (1573-1574); in the Deccan men ate their own kind (1594-1598).

There were, of course, a number of prosperous cities described by travellers as greater than the London of those days, and very populous. Again, travelling on the highways was made safe for all. Industry and crafts



TRAVELLING IN MUGHUL TIMES

flourished, and the manufacture of cotton cloth was a country-wide occupation. The weaving of silks, shawls, and carpets gave employment to many people in various parts of the country. There was likewise an active and considerable trade with different countries of Asia and Europe. But this economic prosperity did not benefit the farmers and the workers, who were forced to sell their goods at low prices.

4. Cultural Conditions. Architecture, sculpture and painting reached a high state of perfection. As is well known, Shah Jahan was an ardent builder of palaces and cities, and the monuments he erected are to this day admired for their unsurpassed beauty.

The Mughul emperors were patrons of learning and education. But it has once more to be remarked that the majority of the people did not share any of these advantages. They were left in their age-long ignorance, and the Government took no steps to raise their intellectual standard.

In a word, the social, economic and cultural progress did not benefit the masses, but only the Mughul aristocracy and the merchants whose sole aim was to make as much money as possible.

QUESTION

Write a note on the social, economic and cultural conditions during the Mughul period.

IV. THE RISE OF THE SIKHS

1. The Beginnings. The Sikhs or 'the disciples' were at first the followers of a creed founded towards the end of the fifteenth century by Guru Nanak (1469-

1539). The new religion was based on the belief in God common to all religions, and it was meant to be strictly non-sectarian. It remained so under the leadership of the first four Gurus, when numerous 'disciples' joined the new movement. It was during the spiritual leadership of the fourth Guru, Ramdas, that the emperor Akbar, who was favourably disposed towards the Sikhs, granted them a plot of land at Amritsar. This became the site of the Golden Temple and the headquarters of the Sikh faith.

2. Afterwards. (a) *During the Reign of Jehangir.* The fifth Guru, Arjun, incurred the anger of Akbar's successor, Jehangir, for his approval of Prince Kushrau's rebellion. He was put to death on a charge of treason in 1606. Arjun's son and successor, Har Govind, was the first Guru to sow the seeds of militarism among the Sikhs. He entered Jehangir's service, but spent many years in prison for refusing to pay the fine that had been imposed on his father.

(b) *During the Reign of Shah Jahan.* Har Govind took up arms against the Mughuls. He was at first successful, but was afterwards defeated and sought safety in flight. From that time onwards the Sikhs rapidly developed an increasingly warlike spirit.

(c) *During the Reign of Aurangzeb.* The ninth Guru, Tej Bahadur, incurred Aurangzeb's anger and was given the choice between death and conversion to Islam. He was executed in 1675. His son, the tenth Guru, united all the Sikhs into a military nation with a view to opposing the Mughuls. The result was that Aurangzeb started persecuting them so mercilessly that they would have been exterminated but for his death in 1707.

(d) *After Aurangzeb's Death.* Under the leadership of Banda, the Sikhs profited by the break-up of the Mughul

empire to avenge their past sufferings. They destroyed mosques and towns and massacred the priests and the inhabitants. The emperor Bahadur Shah proceeded against them and defeated them. Many were killed, others made their escape into the Punjab (1712).

Three years later, Banda again rose against the Mughuls, but he and his followers were defeated and captured and put to death. After being forced to see his own son killed, Banda was himself trampled to death under the feet of elephants.

The fortunes of the Sikhs were never so low as in 1716.

QUESTIONS

1. How did the Sikhs originate, and how did they fare till the end of Akbar's reign? [1]
2. What is subsequent history of the Sikhs, from Akbar's death in 1695 till the year 1716? [2]

IX. THE MARATHAS

I. RISE TO POWER

A. SHAHJI BHONSLE

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Prince Salim, the future Aurangzeb, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan (1636-1644). That province was in a state of unrest. Among the disaffected leaders was a Maratha chieftain, Shahji Bhonsle. His quarrel with the ruler of Bijapur would long since have been forgotten, but for his son, Shivaji, who was born in 1630, and whose name is not likely ever to fade from the memory of man so long as the Marathas and the land of Maharashtra shall last.

B. SHIVAJI (1630-1680)

1. Seizing the Opportunity. Shivaji was originally a young Maratha chieftain of no special importance. He

profited by Aurangzeb's short-sighted policy of religious persecution to gather the discontented Hindus around him with the ambitious design of gaining their independence.

2. The Warrior. (a) *Humble Beginnings.* So little notice was taken of his doings at first that he was able to capture a number of hill-forts—Torna, Kondaneh, Gopa and Purandhar—without any interference. Then he accidentally discovered a large quantity of gold, which he used in building a fort at Raigarh, and buying arms and ammunition for his followers. Among the latter, the Mavals, though not very civilized, proved themselves excellent fighting men, whose loyalty to their chieftain was proverbial.



SHIVAJI

(b) *War with Bijapur* (1649-1662). Little by little Shivaji became more aggressive. He intercepted a large consignment of gold on its way from Kalyan to Bijapur, seized the town of Kalyan, plundered several rich towns in the Konkan, and surprised and captured ten other hill-forts.

The Sultan of Bijapur realized that 'the mountain rat' was becoming dangerous. Accordingly he gave orders to seize and imprison Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji's

father, who possessed a jaghir in the Deccan, and he threatened to kill his prisoner if his son did not surrender within a certain period.

Thereupon Shivaji managed to secure the emperor Shah Jahan's protection, after promising that he and his father would enter the imperial service. The emperor interceded in favour of Shahji Bhonsle, whose life was spared, though he remained for four more years a prisoner of Bijapur. During these four years Shivaji kept comparatively quiet.

As soon as Shahji Bhonsle had been released, Shivaji resumed his military activities. By that time Shah Jahan had fallen dangerously ill, Prince Salim (Aurangzeb) had left the Deccan in a hurry, and Shivaji was at liberty to deal with Bijapur.

The Bijapur Sultan meant to crush Shivaji once for all, and he sent an army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 infantry under Afzul Khan against the Maratha rebel (1659). Before the opposing forces engaged in battle, Shivaji arranged an interview with Afzul Khan to discuss a peaceful settlement. The outcome of this meeting was that Shivaji killed Afzul Khan. He then attacked the Bijapur troops, thus left without a leader, and utterly defeated them. This victory was the beginning of Shivaji's greatness: he now ruled over the Konkan from Kalyan to Goa and his kingdom was about 160 miles long and from 50 to 100 miles broad (1653-1662).

(c) *War with the Mughul Emperor* (1662-1680). With Bijapur reduced for the time being to a state of helplessness, Shivaji started attacking the provinces of the Mughul empire. Thereupon the emperor Aurangzeb ordered the viceroy of the Deccan, Shayista Khan, to proceed against him.

Shayista Khan took up his headquarters at Poona, where one night Shivaji with a few followers attacked



MARATHA WARSHIPS

the house in which the general was staying. Shayista Khan managed to escape by dropping from a window on to the public road, but lost two fingers, which were cut off by a Maratha blade as he was clinging to the windowsill, nerving himself for the drop. In the general confusion that followed, Shayista Khan's son and a number of his attendants were killed. Shivaji and his followers made good their escape, and with blazing torches re-entered the fort of Singhur (1662). The story of this exploit was told for many a night, round the camp-fires in the hill-forts, and in the dimly-lit huts of the peasants of Maharashtra.

Two years later (1664) Shivaji made a surprise attack on Surat, captured the town, plundered it, and forced its merchants to disgorge their wealth. It was about this time that he assumed the title of Raja.

(d) *Temporary Defeat.*
Next Shivaji collected a fleet of 85 sailing vessels

and started attacking the coastal trading vessels and the inhabitants of the coastal villages and towns. He was also so bold as to plunder vessels carrying pilgrims to Mecca, in consequence of which Aurangzeb sent a large army into the Deccan to avenge the insult thus inflicted on Islam.

For the first time in his military career Shivaji tasted the bitterness of defeat. He had to sign the treaty of Purandhar, by which he surrendered twenty of his forts, and was allowed to keep twelve others as a jaghir from the emperor. In return he was conceded the right to levy *chauth* (one-fourth of the land revenue) and *sardes-mukhi* (one additional tenth) in certain districts of the Bijapur Sultanate.

After signing the treaty, Shivaji proceeded to the imperial court, where he was treated like a defeated underling. At the end of nine months he made good his escape, and in 1666 he was back in the Konkan.

(e) *Renewed Success.* From that time onwards fortune once more smiled on him. He recovered step by step the territories he had lost, attacked Bijapur and Golkonda and forced them to pay *chauth* (1668). He plundered Surat a second time (1670), defeated the Mughul armies and was crowned Raja in 1674.

(f) *Campaign in the Deccan.* Afterwards Shivaji invaded the Carnatic, captured the fort of Jinji, seized Vellore and a number of other places, and secured for himself one half of the Tanjore Principality.

He returned to Raigarh in 1679, and died there the following year (1680). At the time of his death his kingdom extended from Golkonda to Goa and was about 300 miles long and from 50 to 100 miles broad.

3. The Statesman. By the reforms he introduced Shivaji proved himself not only a successful warrior but also a skilled statesman.

(a) *Prants*. He divided his kingdom into fourteen districts or *prants*. Each prant consisted of several villages and was guarded by forts. The officer in charge of the prant decided all criminal cases, submitted the civil cases to the village *panchayat*, and collected the revenues.

(b) *Land Revenue*. The revenue was based on the productiveness of the soil; the State's normal share was two-fifths of the annual produce. It was collected by Shivaji's officers, and the peasants were no longer preyed upon by greedy landlords.

The proceeds of the land revenue were increased by the levying of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi*. *Chauth* was not raised in the Maratha kingdom, but in the Mughul provinces in exchange for Maratha protection. In reality it amounted to blackmail, which the people paid rather than have their fields ravaged and their goods carried off by plundering Marathas.

(c) *Ashta Pradhan*. The most remarkable administrative reform was the *Ashta Pradhan* or the eight departments into which the work of administration was divided. Each department was presided over by an officer appointed by the King, the most important post being held by the Peshwa, the Prime Minister of the Maratha Cabinet. The *Ashta Pradhan* was to remain in power when the throne was vacant, in order to prevent political unrest if there should be a contest for the succession. At the same time the royal authority was safeguarded, because the offices of the ministers and the Prime Minister were not hereditary. This institution clearly shows that Shivaji was possessed of real administrative genius.

4. The Successful Ruler. The following were the causes of Shivaji's success. He took advantage of the

contempt in which he was at first held in Bijapur and in Delhi. He profited by Aurangzeb's unwise policy of religious persecution, and identified his own cause with that of religious and national freedom. He did not as a rule wound the religious feelings of the Muslims. He did not oppress the inhabitants of the countries he conquered, and treated vanquished enemies, not as slaves, but as subjects.

His army was skilfully organized into companies of infantry and troops of cavalry under reliable officers. It differed from all other armies in the complete absence of female followers. The campaigns lasted from October to May; there was no fighting during the rainy season.

His army was comparatively small, and Shivaji carefully avoided pitched battles with superior forces. He was satisfied with cutting off the enemy's food supplies, fighting rearguard actions, or ambushing small bodies of soldiers who had strayed far from the Mughul camp. He became an expert in guerilla warfare. Besides, his soldiers were sturdy mountaineers, who lived simple lives, were inured to fatigue, always ready to march and unwavering in their loyalty.

5. Akbar, Aurangzeb and Shivaji. They may be compared as warriors, as statesmen, and as private individuals.

(a) *As Warriors.* Akbar and Shivaji stand high above Aurangzeb. They had to conquer every square mile of the land of which they afterwards became the rulers, whereas Aurangzeb was from the very beginning the master of a mighty empire. Moreover Aurangzeb's success was not real, for in spite of his victories he reduced the Mughul empire to a state of weakness and unrest. In one respect Shivaji was superior to Akbar. Akbar had

an army and faithful generals, Bairam Khan and Adham Khan, who won great victories for him. Shivaji had to create his army, and had no generals to prepare the way for him.

(b) *As Administrator.* Akbar and Shivaji were wise administrators. Akbar by his tolerance and forbearance made friends with the Afghan chieftains and won the goodwill of the Rajputs; Shivaji likewise was usually careful not to offend the Muslims in religious matters. In one respect Shivaji was superior to Akbar. He was personally responsible for the reforms he introduced. The *prants*, the land revenue system, the *Ashta Pradhan*, were devised and established by himself. Akbar, however, owed much of his administrative success to Todar Mall and Abul Fazl. As regards Aurangzeb, his policy of persecution turned the Hindus against him, while he further weakened the empire by destroying Bijapur and Golkonda.

(c) *As Individuals.* Akbar and Shivaji knew how to gain the support and the loyalty of those who surrounded them; Aurangzeb, on the contrary, never seems to have fully trusted anyone, and he was very badly served.

C. SHIVAJI'S SUCCESSORS (1610-1714)

1. **Sambhaji (1680-1689).** After Shivaji's death there was a contest for the succession between his two sons. The elder son, Sambhaji, defeated his brother, Raja Ram, and ascended the throne. Sambhaji was not like his father. He was not lacking in military skill, and fought successfully against the Portuguese; but he had none of Shivaji's manliness, and preferred a life of ease, luxury and intemperance.

Nor was he a wise administrator. He imprisoned the Peshwa and entrusted Kalusha with the government, a

task for which he was entirely unfit. Thereupon the kingdom fell into a state of disorder. The ryots were overtaxed, and the soldiers, clamouring for their arrears of pay, began plundering and robbing.

The unworthy son of Shivaji was surprised in a state of drunkenness by his Mughul enemies, who captured and put him to death, carrying off to Delhi his little son, Shahu, also known as Shivaji II (1689).

2. Raja Ram (1689-1700). Raja Ram was appointed regent on behalf of the young Shahu. All the Marathas, anxious to avenge Sambhaji's murder, gave him their support. With their help he was able to establish himself at Jinji, where he was besieged by the Mughul army. For eight years the besiegers failed to capture the city, and when at last they seized it in January 1698, Raja Ram managed to escape. He died two years later in 1700.

As regards Raja Ram's character, he was a much better man than his elder brother, Sambhaji. It is to his credit that at a time when there was no army, no money and no government, he succeeded in gathering the Marathas round him against the Mughul emperor. He carried on the traditional policy of guerilla warfare, and the fact that he defended Jinji for eight years speaks for itself. In order to secure the loyalty of the Maratha chieftains he granted them *jagirs*, thus sacrificing the royal authority in order to prevent the kingdom from falling to pieces. With the same end in view he appointed a Pratinidhi to control the administration of the kingdom and to watch the doings of the *Ashta Pradhan*. He was always ready to efface himself and to delegate his authority to competent men in anything concerning the welfare of the kingdom. But there is no sense in calling him 'the second founder of the Maratha empire'. His

father, Shivaji, towers high above him as a warrior and an administrator.

3. Tara Bai (1700-1708). Raja Ram's widow, Tara Bai, now began to play an important part in public affairs. During her regency she successfully opposed Aurangzeb's final attempt to conquer the Deccan, and the Mughul army had to retire into Ahmadnagar.

But the great service she thus rendered to the Marathas did not permanently benefit the country because of the dissensions which her later conduct provoked. She tried to deprive Shahu of the throne, first in favour of her own infant son, Shivaji, and afterwards in favour of Sambhaji, her late husband's son by another wife. Such was her power that she secured for her protegee the State of Kolhapur. She was, therefore, responsible for sowing in the kingdom the seeds of disunion which ultimately proved so disastrous to Maharashtra.

Her regency came to an end with the accession of Shahu or Shivaji II in 1708, but she continued to scheme and intrigue for many years longer.

4. Shahu or Shivaji II (1708-1748). It would seem that Shahu was set free by Aurangzeb's successor, the emperor Bahadur Shah, at the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan, who foresaw that Shahu's return to his kingdom would cause widespread dissension in Maharashtra. Nor was he mistaken.

Tara Bai strongly opposed Shahu's claim to the throne, and there followed a long contest for the succession. Shahu at last succeeded in defeating Tara Bai with the help and the advice of Balaji Vishvanath, who was then an ordinary *carcoon* or revenue-clerk.

As was to be expected, Shahu, brought up in the effeminate court of Delhi, did not prove himself a satisfactory ruler. He was a lover of comfort and ease. In

1714 he appointed Balaji Vishvanath as Peshwa, and from that year onwards he was only the nominal ruler of the kingdom; the Peshwa became the real ruler. Shahu retained the title of king till his death at Satara in 1748. His successors were called Rajas of Satara.

5. After Shahu's Death. Before he died, Shahu had appointed Tara Bai's grandson, Ramaraja, as his successor, and he was crowned in 1750. Tara Bai, born in 1675, was now in her seventy-fifth year, but still young in spirit. When she learned that she was precluded by Shahu's will from being the new ruler's adviser, the unscrupulous woman simply imprisoned Ramaraja, and he remained a prisoner for the rest of his life, first of his grandmother and afterwards of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who at last succeeded in forcing Tara Bai to retire into private life (1752).

She continued, however, to exercise her influence at Satara, where she died in December 1761 at the age of 86. It is said that the fierce old woman rejoiced over the disaster of Panipat in January 1761 and over Balaji Baji Rao's death in June 1761. Her policy proved disastrous to the royal authority, for she indirectly contributed to the rise and the ascendancy of the Peshwas.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Shivaji was a great warrior, an able statesman and a successful ruler. [B, 2-4]
2. What were the most important reforms introduced by Shivaji? [B, 3]
3. Write notes on: Shivaji's *prants*, his land revenue, and the *Ashta Pradhan*. [B, 3]
4. What were the chief causes of Shivaji's success? [B, 4]
5. Compare Akbar, Aurangzeb and Shivaji. [B, 5]
6. Compare Sambhaji and Raja Ram. [C, 1-2]
7. What part did Tara Bai play in the history of Maharashtra? [C, 3-5]

C. H.—7

II. GROWTH OF THE MARATHA POWER

A. THE RISE OF THE PESHWAS

The Peshwas were originally the prime ministers of the *Ashta Pradhan* or the Maratha Cabinet. As Shivaji's successors were not capable rulers, the Peshwas little by little increased their authority, and during Shahu's reign (1708-1748) the Peshwa became the real ruler of the kingdom. Shahu's successors called themselves Rajas of Satara, and the Peshwas were the uncrowned kings of Maharashtra.

B. THE FIRST THREE PESHWAS

The growth of the Maratha power from 1714 onwards was the work of the first three Peshwas.

1. Balaji Vishvanath (1714-1720). He was a self-made man, who from an ordinary *carcoon* or revenue-clerk rose to become Peshwa. He proved himself a wise administrator and statesman and laid the foundation of Maratha supremacy.

(a) *The First Peshwa.* As already stated, the *Ashta Pradhan* or the Maratha Cabinet, with the Peshwa as the Prime Minister, was established by Shivaji. Balaji Vishvanath was in reality the fifth Peshwa to hold the office thus instituted, but he is often called the First Peshwa and with very good reason; for he made himself the virtual ruler of the country, and what is more important, he succeeded in making the Peshwaship hereditary in his family. Thus he became the founder of a dynasty of Peshwas.

(b) *The Administrator.* When he became Peshwa, the Maratha kingdom was no longer powerful as in the days of Shivaji. It had suffered severely from the attacks

of the Mughul armies, and it was also the victim of internal dissensions. Balaji Vishwanath began by restoring order in the kingdom. He introduced a series of administrative reforms, established a fair and just revenue system, and reorganized the Maratha forces. Thanks to these measures the kingdom soon recovered its strength.

(c) *The Statesman.* After he had restored peace and order at home, he made it his policy to spread the Maratha power abroad. In those days the famous Sayyid brothers, often known as the King-makers, were very powerful in Delhi, but they were opposed by a strong faction at court, including the emperor Farrukhsiyar himself (1713-1719). They were therefore eager to secure the support of the Marathas against their imperial master. Balaji Vishwanath was equally anxious to profit by their quarrel with the emperor.

Accordingly Husain Ali, one of the two brothers, and Balaji Vishwanath concluded a treaty in 1714. The Marathas were granted the right to gather *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* in six *subhas* of the Mughul Deccan, and they were given back the territories that had once formed a part of Shivaji's kingdom, but had been taken away by the Mughuls. Balaji Vishwanath, on his part, acknowledged the emperor at Delhi as his suzerain, or overlord.

There is no doubt that Balaji Vishwanath made a good bargain. Large tracts of territory came once more under Maratha rule, and the Marathas were officially recognized as sharers in the land revenue of the imperial provinces. As regards the emperor's suzerainty, it was merely nominal, for the ruler at Delhi was no longer in a position to remind the Marathas that he was their overlord.

(d) *In Delhi.* In 1719, Balaji Vishwanath, at the head of 10,000 Maratha fighting men, accompanied Husain Ali

to Delhi, where he defeated the anti-Sayyid party. The emperor Farrukhsiyar was deposed by the Sayyid brothers, and replaced by a boy-emperor, Muhammad Shah, who ratified the treaty of 1714. The overlordship of Delhi, though it was still mentioned in the ratification, was already a dead letter. It would even seem that the emperor paid tribute to Balaji Vishvanath in order to preserve the territory around Delhi from being plundered by the Marathas. There is nothing surprising in this, for Muhammad Shah was only a puppet ruler. It was really the Sayyid brothers who ratified the treaty, and they were quite ready to pay tribute to Balaji Vishvanath, who had rendered them valuable services.

The First Peshwa did not live long after his return from Delhi. He died in October 1720, but by that time he had laid the foundation of Maratha supremacy.

2. Baji Rao I (1720-1740). He was Balaji Vishvanath's son, and like his father was an able statesman, and distinguished himself as a warrior. He is, indeed, regarded as the greatest of the Peshwas.

(a) *The Statesman.* When he became Peshwa, there were in the Maratha kingdom certain officers who had won distinction in war and whose influence over their followers was very great. Chief among these were Malhar Rao Holkar, a cavalry officer; Ranoji Sindia, at one time the Peshwa's slipper-bearer; and two other soldiers, Pilaji Gaikwad and Parsoji Bhonsle. Their growing power endangered the unity of the Maratha kingdom and was a serious threat to the Peshwa's authority.

In his dealings with them Baji Rao I showed great tact and statesmanship. He did not make enemies of them, but succeeded in preventing them from joining forces against him, and at the same time took care that

each one of them remained weaker than himself. He kept them separated from one another by allowing them a free hand in collecting *chauth* in widely distant and different territories. The Gaikwad operated in Gujarat, and Bhonsle in Berar, while Sindia and Holkar collected the tax in Malwa, the former establishing himself at Indore, the latter at Gwalior.

Thus Baji Rao I kept these chieftains agreeably busy and preserved his own supremacy, at the same time maintaining the unity of the Maratha kingdom. It is true that these officers were destined to become the founders of royal families, and that Baji Rao's policy sowed the first seeds of the Maratha Confederacy. But it was better to have a strong and united confederacy than a kingdom weakened by internal dissensions.

(b) *The Warrior*. Having thus firmly established his own authority and the unity of the kingdom, Baji Rao I made it the chief aim of his life to extend the Maratha power in Hindustan. It was during his rule that Gujarat was conquered by the Gaikwad, and Malwa by Holkar and Sindia.

In 1737 Baji Rao himself marched towards Delhi. The reigning emperor was Muhammad Shah (1719-1740), who in 1720 had ratified the important treaty made in 1714. He had become so feeble that it would have been pointless for him to assert the fact that under that treaty the Marathas had accepted him as their overlord. All he could do was to beg for help from Nizam-ul-Mulk, at one time a provincial governor, but now an independent ruler in the Deccan. However, to save appearances, Muhammad Shah made a show of granting the Deccan ruler full powers to drive the Marathas from Gujarat and Malwa.

It can hardly be said that Nizam-ul-Mulk obeyed the imperial orders. He started fighting against the Marathas

of his own accord in the hope of increasing his own power in the Deccan. In the long contest that fol-



NIZAM-UL-MULK

lowed, the Marathas were on the whole successful. In 1738 Balaji Rao surrounded Nizam-ul-Mulk's army near Bhopal and compelled him to sign the Convention of Seronje. The Marathas became sovereign rulers of the whole of Malwa and of all the territories situated between the Chambal and the Narbada. The emperor Muhammad Shah had to promise to ratify this Convention and to pay

Baji Rao a sum of fifty lakhs to cover the expenses of the campaign.

Baji Rao also fought against the Portuguese, and in 1739 he took by storm the fortress of Bassein which became famous in later Maratha history.

(c) *The Greatest Peshwa.* The claim of Baji Rao I to the title of the greatest Peshwa can be proved by comparing him with his predecessor and his successors in the Peshwaship. His predecessor, Balaji Vishvanath, was also a successful warrior and an able statesman, but he was a conqueror rather than an organizer. He laid the foundation of Maratha supremacy, but did not erect the structure itself.

As regards Baji Rao's successors, Balaji Baji Rao, Madhav Rao I and Nana Fadnavis, who was Peshwa in

fact if not in name, the three of them were certainly great rulers, but not so good as Baji Rao I.

Under the rule of Balaji Baji Rao the Maratha power was at its zenith, but it also passed through the darkest hour of its history after the defeat of Panipat. He was, so to speak, a victor vanquished. Though Madhav Rao I is deserving of the highest praise for his brave attempt to restore the lost prestige of his country, he unfortunately did not live long enough to re-establish Maratha supremacy in Hindustan. Finally, Nana Fadnavis was a man of unsurpassed ability, and it has been said that with his death 'departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government'. For all that, his closing years were saddened by internal dissensions which proved fatal to the Maratha kingdom.

It may, therefore, be concluded that Baji Rao I was the greatest Peshwa, a man of outstanding gifts as an administrator and a conqueror. By his wise policy he preserved the unity of the Maratha kingdom, and the united Marathas proved themselves a great and strong nation.

3. Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761). He is one of the most tragic figures in Maratha history. After being most successful for the space of twenty years, he met with a failure which was so overwhelming that he died a broken-hearted man.

(a) *Years of Success.* During the first twenty years of Balaji Baji Rao's rule, the power of the Marathas was greater than it had ever been in the past, or would ever be in the future. The Maratha leaders, without quarrelling among themselves, competed with one another in extending their territories at the expense of neighbouring states.

The Bhonsle family of Berar overran Orissa, and

pushed northwards as far as the Ganges, and also eastwards in the direction of Calcutta. Their threatened advance caused such dread among the people of Calcutta that they started digging the famous Maratha Ditch along the site now occupied by the Circular Road.

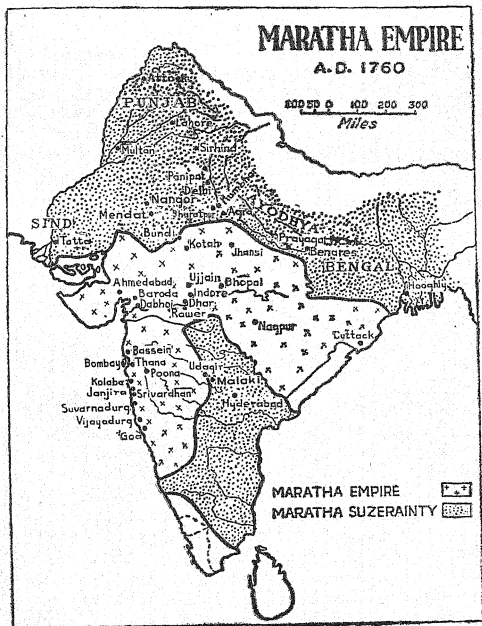
Holkar of Indore displayed the same eagerness for conquest in Bundelkhand. The Peshwa himself carried on successful warfare in Mysore and the Carnatic. But the most warlike and daring of all was the Peshwa's brother, Raghoba, who invaded the Punjab and entered Lahore triumphantly in 1758. All these various conquests were crowned by the victory of Udgir in 1760 over Salabat Jang and Nizam Ali, the sons of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Their father had tried to drive the Marathas from Malwa and Gujarat, during the reign of the preceding Peshwa, and had failed miserably. Now his sons attempted to take possession of Ahmadnagar, which the Marathas held under military occupation. They were defeated at Udgir, were compelled to hand over to the Marathas the forts of Daulatabad, Asirgarh and Bijapur, and had to renounce all claims to Ahmadnagar and to the province of Ahmadabad.

The result was that in 1760 the Maratha Confederacy extended from the Chambal and the Jumna to the Godavari, and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. Moreover the Marathas were in a position to levy *chauth* in large tracts of non-Maratha territories, in the north from the Indus to the eastern frontier of Bengal, in the south to the southern frontiers of Mysore.

(b) *The Great Failure.* After the Marathas had thus become the rulers of India, they were suddenly reduced to a state of utter helplessness. Their downfall was brought about by the disastrous defeat which they suffered at Panipat in 1761.

(i) *Causes of the Conflict.* In 1757 Ahmad Shah Abdali

of Persia invaded India and before returning home appointed his son viceroy of the conquered Punjab. In the following year Raghoba invaded the province and occupied Lahore. Thereupon the Persian ruler crossed the Indus to recover his lost territory from the Marathas.



(ii) *The Opposing Armies.* The eldest son of the Peshwa, Vishwas Rao, was the commander-in-chief of the immense host of 300,000 Maratha fighting men. He had been given Sadasiva Rao, commonly called the Bhao, as his adviser. The latter was an experienced general, and had distinguished himself at the battle of Udgir. It was, therefore, understood by all that the so-called adviser was in reality in full command, while the Peshwa's son was merely told what orders he was to issue. In order not to be overwhelmed by the mere numbers of the Maratha host, Ahmad Shah Abdali had called upon every available fighting man to swell the ranks. The conflict was no longer an attempt to occupy and defend the Punjab: it had become a national and religious struggle for supremacy.

(iii) *Minor Actions.* Holkar and Sindia were the first to be attacked by the advancing enemy, and were compelled to retreat along the banks of the Jumna. They did not escape unhurt, for they were overtaken by the enemy and lost two-thirds of their men near Delhi. These were only minor losses in operations on such a scale. The decisive battle was fought at Panipat on January 13, 1761, where the Marathas were hopelessly defeated.

(iv) *The Battle.* During the first half of that fatal day the Marathas had the advantage over their enemies. Their forces were drawn up in a slanting line, with the left wing thrown forward, and the military well in advance. Abdali formed a similar line.

The guns of the Marathas opened fire upon the advancing enemy and caused great destruction in their ranks. This enabled the Marathas to inflict terrible losses on the right wing and centre of the Afghans, but the left wing of Ahmad Shah Abdali's army stood firm and unshaken in spite of repeated attacks. Up to

the hour of noon the advantage still rested with the Marathas.

Then Ahmad Shah Abdali determined to make a supreme effort to ward off defeat. With two bodies of cavalry he charged the Maratha centre while two other bodies of cavalry fell upon the flanks. Before the sudden shock of this unexpected movement the Maratha centre swayed forwards and backwards, and then gave way. In an incredibly short time victory was turned into defeat. The Maratha fighting men fled in every direction, hotly pursued by the Afghan horsemen, and the battle ended in a rout. The Bhao and nearly all the Hindu leaders died on the battlefield, and the number of the soldiers slain in the plains about Panipat amounted to 200,000.

The greatness of these losses may be gathered from the message that was sent to the Peshwa: 'Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total amount cannot be cast up'. There was mourning and weeping throughout Maharashtra for many a day. The Peshwa himself died shortly afterwards, in July 1761, his heart broken by this fearful catastrophe.

(v) *Causes of the Maratha Defeat.* The following were the causes of the disaster that overtook the Maratha fighting men.

The preparations for the battle had been of a kind with which the Maratha forces were quite unfamiliar. Holkar Sindia and other Maratha leaders had earnestly pleaded that the huge camp and the multitude of camp-followers should be left behind, and that the fighting should be carried on according to the time-honoured Maratha method of laying waste the country, cutting off food supplies, harassing the enemy here and there and everywhere till he was exhausted. They had pleaded in vain.

The Bhao knew better. The result was that for more than two months before the battle the Marathas were faced with the serious problem of provisioning their immense camp. It would appear that on that fatal thirteenth of January the soldiers had actually eaten their last remaining rations before the fight began.

Moreover, the Maratha soldiers were not in a position to show their fighting capabilities. They had never fought a pitched battle of this kind; they lacked the necessary patience and restraint. The Bhao himself was lacking in these qualities, and he conducted the battle on the quite unsuitable principles of guerilla warfare. Time after time he hurled his troops against the enemy line. The result was that his soldiers were exhausted by the time Ahmad Shah Abdali gave the signal for the combined encircling attack of cavalry. In guerilla warfare the Marathas were experts in disappearing when the enemy proved too strong, in order to return to the attack from the most unexpected quarter. Under the conditions of Panipat they could not do this. They fled in disorder, unable to find safety in flight, and quite powerless to rally and strike another blow. It was not lack of bravery on their part that lost the battle, but the deplorable want of leadership on the part of the man in command.

(vi) *Result.* All the dreams of Maratha supremacy collapsed like a house of cards. Perhaps none profited more by the outcome of the battle than the British, whose attempts to build a colonial empire in India could now be carried on without any serious interference. Only the Marathas might have been able to frustrate ambitious designs of the still weak and struggling Company, and now their power was broken.

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Peshwas and how did they rise to power? [II, A. See also I, B, 3: Shivaji the Statesman.]
2. Show that Balaji Vishvanath may rightly be called the First Peshwa, and that he was a wise administrator and a great statesman who laid the foundation of Maratha supremacy. [II, B, 1]
3. Show that Baji Rao I was an able statesman and a great conqueror, and that he may claim to be considered the greatest of the Peshwas. [II, B, 2]
4. Write a brief account of Balaji Baji Rao's success during the first twenty years of his rule. [II, B, 3 (a)]
5. Discuss the battle of Panipat (its causes, the battle itself, the causes of the Maratha defeat, and its result). [II, B, 3(b)]

III. DECLINE OF THE MARATHA POWER

Explanation. By decline is meant a gradual decrease in strength, as, for example, when a once vigorous and healthy man becomes weak and ill, from age or other causes. Not only man declines, but also the works of man; the house he builds, the city he establishes, the dynasty and the kingdom of which he is the founder. In course of time the Maratha power declined: first, the Maratha kingdom; next, the Maratha Confederacy.

A. DECLINE OF THE MARATHA KINGDOM (1680-1714)

Causes of Decline. The following causes brought about the weakening and decline of the Maratha kingdom.

(a) *Struggle for the Succession.* After Shivaji's death in 1680 the internal peace of the kingdom was disturbed by a struggle for the succession between Sambhaji, the elder son, and his younger brother, Raja Ram, each of whom had his followers. Thus the seeds of discord were first sown, though, for the time being they did not spring up, because the *Ashta Pradhan* kept

the Marathas united. Sambhaji defeated Raja Ram in 1680.

(b) *Sambhaji's Weakness* (1680-1689). Unlike his father, Sambhaji was a weak ruler. He imprisoned the Peshwa, and in his place appointed a man who was totally unfit for that office. The country was no longer well administered, the soldiers were not paid, and there was widespread discontent.

(c) *Tara Bai's Fatal Regency* (1700-1708). Sambhaji's little son, Shahu, later known as Shivaji II, had been carried off to Delhi where he was kept a prisoner. His uncle Raja Ram reigned in his stead as regent, and proved himself a good ruler (1689-1700). After his death, his widow, Tara Bai, became regent. She was an able but scheming woman and tried to deprive Shahu of the throne. She did not succeed in doing so, but her political activities further weakened the kingdom by spreading dissensions and by actually dismembering it (1700-1708).

(d) *Shahu or Shivaji II's Unpopularity*. In 1708 Shahu was set free by Aurangzeb, who hoped that his return and his accession would cause unrest and disunion among the Marathas, as in due course it did. Shahu, brought up in comfort and luxury at Delhi, was not a satisfactory ruler and many leading Marathas were opposed to him. After Balaji Vishvanath's appointment as Peshwa, Shahu was only the nominal ruler. The Marathas became divided in their allegiance and loyalty to the House of Shivaji (1708-1714).

(e) *The Hereditary Peshwaship*. When Balaji Vishvanath made the Peshwaship hereditary in his family, the kingdom founded by Shivaji passed into the hands of new masters. Shahu retained the title of king till his death in 1748. His successors were called Rajas of Satara (1714).

The Maratha kingdom did not disappear from the map, but it was no longer the kingdom Shivaji had founded.

B. DECLINE OF THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY (1761-1818)

1. IN GENERAL

1. The Confederacy. During the reigns of the first three Peshwas (1714-1760) the rise to power of four great Maratha leaders—Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Sindia, Parsoji Bhonsle and Pilaji Gaikwad—led to the foundation of separate royal houses, and the kingdom became a Confederacy. The Maratha Confederacy was at its zenith in 1760; but in the following year it was practically shattered by the disastrous defeat of Panipat. However, the Confederacy did not cease to exist. It recovered much of its lost prestige during the reign of Madhav Rao I (1761-1772), but after his untimely death it began steadily to decline.

2. Causes of Decline. The following were the causes that brought about the downfall of the Maratha Confederacy.

(a) *Raghoba's Ambition.* The Confederacy was greatly weakened when the Peshwa Narayan Rao's attempt to check the ambitious designs of Raghoba ended in his being murdered (1772-1773).

(b) *Contents for the Peshwaship.* Thereafter disunion became widespread. Raghoba claimed the Peshwaship for himself, and Nana Fadnavis claimed it for Madhav Rao II, the murdered Peshwa's posthumous son. Maharashtra fell into a state of civil war.

(c) *British Interference.* Both Raghoba and Nana Fadnavis asked the British Company for assistance, and were ready to pay for it by the cession of Maratha territories to the British. When peace was made, Salsette was ceded to the Company (1773-1782).

(d) *Nana Fadnavis's Absolute Rule.* He entirely ignored the Peshwa Madhav Rao II, and acted as though he were the supreme ruler. In sheer despair Madhav Rao II killed himself (1782-1795). His death turned many of the Marathas against Nana Fadnavis, and was a cause of renewed dissensions.

(e) *Baji Rao II's Hatred.* He was Raghoba's son, and hated Nana Fadnavis, his father's enemy, and caused him to be imprisoned. Such was the confusion which followed that he had to release Nana Fadnavis who tried in vain to restore order. War broke out between Holkar and Sindia, with whom Baji Rao II allied himself. When Sindia was defeated, Baji Rao II sought refuge in British territory and signed the fatal treaty of Bassein.

(f) *The Treaty of Bassein* was the beginning of the end of the Maratha Confederacy. The Peshwa sacrificed his independence as the price of protection (1802).

(g) *The Anglo-Maratha Wars.* The Maratha leaders repeatedly tried to undo the mischief caused by the Peshwa's surrender. In the Second Maratha War Bhonsle and Sindia were defeated, and had to acknowledge the overlordship of the British as the Peshwa had done (1803).

In the Third Maratha War Holkar would have shared the same fate, if the British authorities in India had not received orders from the Home Government to cease fighting (1804-1805).

In the Fourth Maratha War, the combined efforts of all the Maratha leaders and of the Peshwa to win back their independence ended in failure, and thus the Maratha Confederacy ceased to exist (1817-1818).

3. Summary. Raghoba's ambitious designs and Narayan Rao's murder; the contest between Raghoba and Nana Fadnavis for the Peshwaship; the request for

British assistance during the First Maratha War; Nana Fadnavis's absolute rule and the suicide of Madhav Rao II; the accession of Baji Rao II, the sworn enemy of Nana Fadnavis; the widespread dissensions and the war between Holkar and Sindia; the Peshwa's flight; the fatal treaty of Bassein, and the Anglo-Maratha Wars, in which the Marathas tried to get back their independence, were the causes of the decline of the Maratha Confederacy.

2. IN DETAIL

1. Madhav Rao I (1761-1772). He was the second son of Balaji Baji Rao, whom he succeeded in the Peshwaship. At the troubled time of his accession the Maratha power had practically ceased to exist, and it redounds greatly to his credit that he succeeded in restoring the tottering Confederacy's lost prestige in Mysore and in Hindustan.

(a) *In Mysore.* Haidar Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, had profited by the Maratha defeat at Panipat to occupy large tracts of Maratha territory without striking a blow. The young Peshwa led an army across the Kistna, defeated Haidar Ali and compelled him to return these territories and to promise to pay a sum of thirty-two lakhs of rupees (1764).



MADHAV RAO I

When Haidar Ali failed to keep his promise, Madhav Rao invaded the Carnatic. Shortly after the opening of the campaign, the Peshwa was forced by illness to return to Poona, but his general, Trimbak Rao Mama, carried on the war. He defeated Haidar Ali at Cherkuli (1771) and besieged the fortress-town of Seringapatam. Though he failed to capture the stronghold, he brought the conflict to a successful end. Haidar Ali had to acknowledge defeat and to agree to the demands of the Marathas.

(b) *In Hindustan.* The Maratha chieftains rallied round Madhav Rao, and shortly afterwards the Marathas crossed the Chambal. They overran the Rajput States, invaded the Jat Districts and levied the customary tribute of *chauth*. Mahadaji Sindia overran Rohilkhand and succeeded in placing the Mughul emperor completely in the power of the Marathas. These fair promises of Maharashtra's return to its former state of greatness were brought to nought by Madhav Rao's untimely death in 1772, which was nothing short of a national calamity. If he had lived, Maharashtra might again have become the mighty Confederacy it had once been. But for the fell disease that carried him off, Madhav Rao I might have become the greatest of the Peshwas.

2. Narayan Rao (1772-1773). Madhav Rao's younger brother, Narayan Rao, now became Peshwa, but he was unable to assert his authority over the ambitious Maratha chieftains. When he imprisoned his uncle, Raghoba, he sealed his own doom, and he was murdered shortly afterwards.

3. Madhav Rao II (1773-1795). (a) *Rival Claimants.* After Narayan Rao's murder, Raghoba proclaimed himself Peshwa and practically ruled as such for two years (1773-1775). But there was a strong party against him,

the leader of which was Nana Fadnavis, who claimed the throne in favour of Madhav Rao II, Narayan Rao's posthumous son.

(b) *British Interference: First Maratha War (1773-1782).* When war broke out between Raghoba and Nana Fadnavis, the former appealed to the Bombay Government for assistance. His request was readily complied with. The Bombay Government and Raghoba concluded the treaty of Surat (1775) by which the latter ceded Salsette and Bassein in return for British military support. The allied forces defeated the troops of Nana Fadnavis at Arras, near Anand.

Raghoba's victory was far from decisive. It so happened that the Bombay Government was unaware that by the Regulating Act of 1773 it had been made subordinate to Calcutta. The Calcutta Government resented Bombay's proceedings, and to mark their disapproval concluded the treaty of Purandhar (1775) with Nana Fadnavis and obtained from him the cession of Salsette, also in return for military aid.



RAGHOBH

Matters became still more confused when the Court of Directors of the East India Company approved the treaty of Surat in their letter of April 5th, 1775.

The Bombay Government, once they had received the

Company's approval, continued to support Raghoba, but their forces met with disaster at Telegaon, near Poona, in 1779. There the Bombay Government signed the disgraceful Convention of Wargaon, about five miles from Telegaon, by which they promised to give up all acquisitions of Maratha territory (Salsette and Bassein) and—most shamefully—to surrender their ally, Raghoba, to his enemy, Nana Fadnavis. They also consented to give British hostages as a pledge that the treaty should be faithfully carried out.

When the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, heard of the Convention of Wargaon, he conveniently forgot that Nana Fadnavis would not have been able to continue the war but for the treaty of Purandhar made with him by the Calcutta Government. He resented the terms of the Convention as a disgrace to the Company. He equipped a military force, which under Colonel Goddard's leadership marched right across India and defeated the Marathas.

The Treaty of Salbai (1782) put an end to the First Maratha War: Madhav Rao II was acknowledged Peshwa, and Salsette was ceded to the British. Raghoba's claim was set aside, but he was granted an annual pension of 300,000 rupees.

(c) *Wars with Tippu Sultan and Nizam Ali.* (i) *Against Tippu Sultan.* During the reign of Madhav Rao II the Marathas fought successfully against the ruler of Mysore, and compelled him to cede part of his State and to pay a sum of forty-five lakhs.

(ii) *Against Nizam Ali.* The Marathas were also successful against the ruler of Hyderabad. Nana Fadnavis persuaded Sindia, Holkar and the other Maratha leaders to combine their forces with those of the Peshwa, and defeated Nizam Ali at Kharda (1795). The Nizam had to cede extensive territories as well as to pay a large

indemnity, and was practically reduced to the state of a vassal.

The victories over Tippu Sultan and Nizam Ali clearly prove the great success the Marathas might have achieved if they had remained united. Unfortunately they seemed bent on self-destruction, and fought against each other, unconsciously playing the game of the British by whom they were ultimately conquered.

(d) *Untimely End.* Shortly after the victory of Kharda, Madhav Rao II, unable to free himself from Nana Fadnavis's guardianship, committed suicide. During the reign of his successor Baji Rao II, the Maratha Confederacy came to an end, and with it the power of the Marathas.

4. Baji Rao II (1795-1818). (a) *Internal Troubles.* Baji Rao II, who was Raghoba's son, hated Nana Fadnavis and soon after his accession caused him to be arrested and imprisoned. Such was the confusion that followed that the Peshwa had to release his prisoner and to ask him once more to accept the office of minister.

But after his release Nana Fadnavis could not control the unrest which had spread everywhere during his imprisonment. Jaswant Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindia were openly at war with each other. The Peshwa joined forces with Sindia, and shared in the latter's defeat; his capital, Poona, was occupied by Holkar (1802).

(b) *The Treaty of Bassein* (1802). Before Poona was captured, Baji Rao II fled to Bassein, put himself into the hands of the British, and signed the Treaty of Bassein on December 31st, 1802. He consented to a subsidiary force of 6,000 infantry being permanently stationed in his territory, and to pay for its upkeep by ceding territories yielding an annual revenue of twenty-six lakhs of rupees. He also bound himself not to allow any Euro-

pean, belonging to a nation hostile to the British, to reside in his State; and he undertook neither to make war against another State nor enter into an alliance with it, without the approval of the British, whom he acknowledged as overlords.

(c) *Result of the Treaty of Bassein.* Baji Rao II was confirmed in the Peshwaship, but he paid a heavy price for it. 'He sacrificed his independence as the price of protection.' Furthermore, as all the other Maratha chiefs were opposed to the Treaty of Bassein, there followed a long period of fighting between the Marathas and the British. The Second and the Third Maratha Wars were the result of this treaty.

IV. THE MARATHA WARS

1. The Second Maratha War (1803). (a) *Causes.* Bhonsle and Scindia were the first to take up arms against the British in order to undo the mischief caused by the Peshwa's surrender.

(b) *Leading Events.* The war was fought partly in the Deccan, partly in Hindustan.

General Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington) conducted the military operations in the Deccan. He occupied Ahmadabad on the Nizam's frontier on August 12th, 1803. Six weeks later, on September 23rd, he completely defeated the combined forces of Bhonsle and Sindia at Assaye. After this battle Sindia withdrew from the conflict for a short time. Wellesley profited by this to win a decisive victory over Bhonsle at Argaon on November 29th and stormed Gawilgarh on December 15th. Two days later the Deccan campaign came to an end with the treaty of Deogaon, which was a second edition of the treaty of Bassein. Bhonsle lost his independence as the Peshwa had done.

General Lake was entrusted with the campaign in Hindustan, which was specially directed against Sindia. He captured Aligarh, Delhi and Agra, and worsted Sindia's troops in two battles, one near Delhi, the other at Laswari, famous for the defeat of the Deccan Invincibles. On December 30th, 1803, Sindia in his turn was forced to sign the treaty of Arjungaon, a third edition of the treaty of Bassein. He was reduced to a state of vassalage, like the Peshwa and Bhonsle.

2. The Third Maratha War (1804-1805). (a) Causes.

During the Second Maratha War Jaswant Holkar, instead of siding with Bhonsle and Sindia against the common enemy, had retired to Malwa, and continued to levy *chauth* from the Rajputana States. The latter had already placed themselves under British protection to guard themselves against these exactions. Accordingly the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley (brother of the victor of Assaye), took up the cause of the Rajputana States, and when his attempts at arriving at peaceful settlement ended in failure, the Third Maratha War broke out. It is sometimes treated as a continuation of the Second Maratha War.

(b). *Leading Events.* Jaswant Holkar was at first successful. According to the British plan, Arthur Wellesley was to advance from the Deccan, Murray from Gujarat, while Lake was to begin operations in Hindustan. But Murray and Lake failed miserably, and three battalions of Lake's army under Colonel Monson were wiped out in the Muckundra Pass, thirty miles south of Kotah.

Thereupon Holkar marched upon Delhi and besieged the city, but he failed to capture it. This was the turning-point in the war, and shortly afterwards, in November 1804, Holkar was defeated by Lake at Farakabad and Deeg. Lake then marched upon Bhurtapore, but after

four attempts he failed to take the impregnable fortress by storm. Fortunately for the British, the Raja of Bhurtpore grew tired of the war and made peace with them.

For all practical purposes Holkar's doom was now sealed. What saved him was Lord Wellesley's recall to England and the arrival of Lord Cornwallis with instructions to follow a policy of non-intervention. He died three months after his arrival in India, but his successor, Sir George Barlow, carried on his policy, and made peace with Jaswant Holkar. The latter got back the greater part of his territories, and retained his right to levy *chauth* in Rajputana.

3. The Fourth (or Third) Maratha War (1817-1818).

(a) *Causes.* The real cause of the conflict was the Company's decision, when the Marquis of Hastings became Governor-General, to abandon the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Indian Princes. The following events led up to it: the murder at Poona in 1815 of Gangadhar Shastri, the Gaikwad's minister, by men in the pay of Trimbakji Danglia, the Peshwa's favourite; Trimbakji's escape from prison with the help, it was said, of the Peshwa; Baji Rao's attempts to break free from the terms of the treaty of Bassein and his appeal to the other Maratha leaders for help; his being forced by the Marquis of Hastings to sign away his leadership of the Maratha Confederacy and to acknowledge the Gaikwad's independence in the treaty of Poona (1817); Baji Rao's attack on the English Residency in Poona on November 5th, 1817.

(b) *Leading Events.* When the attack on the Residency took place, the English had already started military operations. On that very day, November 5th, 1817, they had compelled Daulat Rao Sindia to sign the subsidiary treaty of Gwalior.

Shortly afterwards the Peshwa was defeated at Kirkee,

and in two other battles: at Koregaon on January 1st, 1818; and at Ashti on February 20th. He surrendered on June 3rd.

Meanwhile Appa Saheb, who had become all-powerful in Nagpur after the death of Raghoji Bhonsle, was defeated at Sibaldi in November 1817, and at Nagpur in December, in which month Holkar also was defeated at Mahidpur.

(c) *Results.* The British triumph was complete. The Peshwa was deposed; Appa Saheb escaped; and Raghuji Bhonsle III, a descendant of the Bhonsle family, was installed at Nagpur. Raghuji promised to acknowledge the British as overlords, and so did Holkar and Sindia. The Maratha Confederacy was no more.

V. PROMINENT MARATHA LEADERS

1. Mahadaji Sindia.

He was the son of Ranoji Sindia, at one time the Peshwa's slipper-bearer, afterwards the founder of a royal house. Mahadaji was one of the few Maratha chiefs who escaped from the battle of Panipat. During the period of Maratha recovery under the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, he became one of the leading Maratha generals; he overran Rohilkhand and was all-powerful in Delhi. During the reign of Madhav Rao II



MAHADAJI SINDIA

his influence steadily increased, and at Salbai, a village in his territory, where the treaty of Salbai was signed, he acted in the name of the Peshwa. It has been said that Warren Hastings (1774-1795), though he viewed Mahadaji's growing power with feelings of mistrust, did not venture to quarrel with him. Mahadaji died in 1794.

2. Raghoba. He was the second son of Baji Rao I. In his eagerness to win military fame, he overran the Punjab and captured Lahore. But his countrymen had to pay a high price for this success, for the invasion of the Punjab brought about the disastrous battle of Panipat.

After the murder of Narayan Rao, Raghoba proclaimed himself Peshwa, and in order to defeat his rival, Nana Fadnavis, he concluded the treaty of Surat by which he ceded Salsette and Bassein to the Bombay Government. After the defeat of the British contingent at Wargaoon (1779), his former allies promised to surrender him to Nana Fadnavis; but he saved the Bombay Government from the utter disgrace of betraying him by taking refuge with Mahadaji Sindia.

At the end of the First Maratha War he had to renounce all claims to the Peshwaship, but he was allowed to retire into private life and was granted a yearly pension of three lakhs of rupees.

3. Nana Fadnavis. He was the leader of the party which was opposed to Raghoba, on behalf of Madhav Rao II, Narayan Rao's posthumous son. In his struggle with Raghoba, he was at first defeated at Arras (1775), but the treaty of Purandhar (1776), which he made with the Calcutta Government, enabled him to continue to fight against Raghoba till he won the victory of Telegaon, which was followed by the Convention of Wargaoon. This was a great personal triumph over Raghoba, but it involved Nana Fadnavis in a war with the Calcutta Govern-

ment, who came to the rescue of the defeated Bombay Government, having to disregard their differences in face of a common danger. Nana Fadnavis was defeated by the Calcutta army, and had to sign the treaty of Salbai (1782), which left him the virtual ruler at Poona, but did not enable him to kill Raghoba.

The victory he won over Raghoba was rendered useless by the suicide of the Peshwa, Madhav Rao II, who was unable to free himself from Nana Fadnavis's domineering guardianship. This was the beginning of his downfall, for the next Peshwa was Raghoba's son, who hated Nana Fadnavis, and even imprisoned him. A reconciliation afterwards took place, and Nana Fadnavis once more became the chief minister, but during his imprisonment dissensions had spread all over the kingdom, and he was not able to restore unity and peace. He died in 1800.

There is no doubt about Nana Fadnavis's cleverness. It has been said that with his death 'departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government'. The question that remains to be answered is, whether in his struggle against Raghoba, Nana Fadnavis was inspired by unselfish motives, or whether he was solely bent on furthering his own personal greatness.

4. The Life of the People under the Marathas. It would seem that from the rise to power of Shivaji in 1647 to the break-up of the Maratha Confederacy in 1818, the life of the common people did not greatly change. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, neither Shivaji nor the Peshwas made any attempt to improve their lot; they did not spread education, they did not promote the cause of national welfare. The rocky and barren soil of Maharashtra made agricultural progress a difficult task, in which the rulers of the kingdom took no interest, so that trade and industry were likewise in a poor condition. The

rulers did not look for financial support from the people; they relied entirely on the *chauth* and the *sardesmukhi* which they levied in conquered territories. The result was that no effort was made to raise the people from their poverty and ignorance. It is all the more praiseworthy that the common people of Maharashtra were always ready to fight for their rulers when they were called upon to do so. Their loyalty to their military leaders was proverbial.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the main causes of the decline of the Maratha kingdom? [III, A]
2. What part did Madhav Rao play in Maratha history? How did he delay the decline of the Maratha kingdom? What was the result of his untimely death? [III, B, 1]
3. What were the causes of the First Maratha War? What was the part played in it by the British? Mention the treaties of Poona, Purandhar, Wargaoon and Salbai. [III, B, 3 (a)-(b)]
4. How did Baji Rao II come to sign the treaty of Bassein? What were its disastrous results? [III, B, 4(a)-(c)]
5. Give an account of how the Second (Second and Third) Maratha War was fought by the English against Bhonsle, Sindia and Holkar. [IV, 1-2]
6. Give an account of the Fourth (Third) Maratha War: its causes, its leading events and its disastrous results for the Maratha Confederacy. [IV, 3]
7. Write a note on Mahadaji Sindia, Raghuba, Nana Fadnavis. [V]

X. THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH RULE

I. EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLERS

1. The Portuguese. (a) *Discovery of the Sea Routes.* After the closing of the old trade routes with the rise of the Ottoman empire in Europe, the Portuguese were the first to discover the way to India by sea. In May 1498 Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut.

(b) *Arab Opposition.* The Portuguese were given a friendly reception by the Zamorin, the Hindu ruler in those parts, but their arrival was resented by the Arab traders. Their opposition frustrated several attempts made by the Portuguese to start trading operations at Calicut: two attempts made by Vasco da Gama in 1498 and 1502, and two others, the first by Alvarez Cabral in 1500, and the second by Alphonso Albuquerque in 1503. It was not till Francisco Almeida, the first Governor of Portuguese India, was sent out to India in 1505, that the Arabs were defeated in a naval battle off Chaul, 30 miles south of Bombay. This was the beginning of Portuguese power in India.

(c) *Trading Empire.* In 1509 Alphonso Albuquerque returned to India, this time as Governor of Portuguese India in succession to Francisco Almeida. He started the policy which the Portuguese pursued during the whole of the sixteenth century. They did not attempt to build an inland empire, but were satisfied with occupying a number of harbour towns and changed them into coastal citadels. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese trading empire extended over more than 12,000 miles of coast-line, either under effective Portuguese control or within the sphere of Portuguese influence. In this immense area they had about thirty factories in the most favourable positions. Their strength lay in the maritime control over all the eastern seas.

2. Their Downfall. *Causes.* The chief cause of the weakness of the Portuguese trading empire was its coastal character; the interior of the country remained politically independent. The result was that a successful attack whether from the interior or by sea, was bound to be disastrous for the Portuguese, who in either case had nowhere to retreat.

Another important factor that contributed to the collapse of the trading empire was Portugal's absorption by Spain (1580-1640). The Spaniards had such vast colonial dominions in America, that they took but little interest in India. Moreover, when the Portuguese supremacy at sea was successfully challenged by the Dutch, their trading empire collapsed.

It has also been said that the Portuguese lost their empire owing to their cruelty in their dealings with the Indians and as a result of their religious policy. But it has to be borne in mind that either accusation supposes that the Portuguese meant to build a colonial empire as the British did afterwards. There were of course some cruel men among the Portuguese settlers, but it was never the policy of the Portuguese systematically to oppress the people.

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the great enemies of the early Portuguese settlers, and why, and when were they overcome? What kind of empire did the Portuguese establish in India? [1 (b)-(c)]
2. What were the causes of the decline of Portuguese power in India? [2]

II. WESTERN TRADING COMPANIES

For about 100 years the Indian trade was in Portuguese hands. During that period merchants from other European nations traded with India, but purely as individuals, not with any national backing from the country from which they came. From 1600 onwards trading companies under state protection were established by the British, the Dutch, the Danes, the French and the Flemish.

III. MINOR EUROPEAN CONTESTS

1. The Portuguese and the Dutch. As already stated, the Portuguese never attempted to build a colonial empire in India; nor did the Dutch. Both nations had a number of factories in India, for the possession of which there were local fights, but the real war between the Portuguese and the Dutch was fought on sea. When the Dutch established their naval supremacy over their rivals, the Portuguese commercial empire in India and elsewhere in the East came to an end.

2. The Dutch and the English. After the Dutch had defeated the Portuguese, they had the monopoly of the spice trade in the East. The British wanted a share in this profitable business, and a long and bitter contest ensued. Hostilities reached their climax when nine Englishmen were accused and found guilty of treasonable activities at Amboyna in the Malay Archipelago. Their execution became known as 'the Amboyan massacre', and the affair greatly intensified British animosity against the Dutch, who were ultimately defeated. Once more, most of the fighting took place outside India.

IV. ANGLO-FRENCH WARS

1. The Coming of the English. The East India Company was founded in 1600, and the men it sent out came to India as traders. With the consent of the Indian rulers they opened factories (trading stations) at Surat, Calicut and Masulipatam. They also started trading operations in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast.

With a view to protecting their trade they built three important forts: Fort St. George at Madras, Fort William at Calcutta, and Fort St. David fifteen miles south of

Pondicherry. In course of time Madras and Bombay, and afterwards Calcutta, became Presidency towns, so called because they were under a President, and were fully equipped factory-towns: a President, merchants, factors, writers, soldiers, sepoys and peons.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century other Englishmen started a rival company. This new company and the old one were united, and thus the United East India Company was formed in 1702.

2. The Coming of the French. The French East India Company was founded in 1664, and in 1668 French traders established factories at Surat and Masulipatam. They also occupied San Thome (Madras), and Francois Martin founded Pondicherry in 1674. Another famous factory was built at Chandernagore. French attempts at trading were resented and opposed by the Dutch, who for a time occupied Pondicherry. The settlement was, however, restored to the French after the treaty of Ryswick (1697), and under Francois Martin it became the most prosperous French settlement in India. The strife between the French and the Dutch was little more than a skirmish in comparison with the great and protracted struggle between the French and the English.

3. Causes of the Rival Wars. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the English ceased to be mere traders. They adopted the policy of territorial expansion, they became empire-builders. The French pursued the same policy; and when Dupleix was appointed Governor-General of the French possessions in India, he started drilling Indian sepoys in the hope that, under the leadership of capable French officers, they might become efficient soldiers and enable him to build a French colonial empire in India. The result of these ambitious

designs was a long and bitter Anglo-French conflict which lasted for about twenty years and was fought in the Carnatic, the name given by the Europeans to the Coromandel Coast and its hinterland.

4. First Carnatic War (1740-1748). (a) *Causes.* The real cause of the First Carnatic War was the rivalry between the English and the French; its occasion was the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe (1740-1748) in which England and France were on opposite sides.

(b) *Leading Events.* Most of the fighting took place at Madras, Fort St. David and Pondicherry.

Madras. The naval commander, La Bourdonnais, arriving with a French squadron from Mauritius, captured Madras, but made a treaty with the English to restore it for a moderate ransom, and, so it is said, for a personal gratuity of 100,000 pagodas. The treaty was ignored by Dupleix, the Governor of French establishments in India, who occupied and looted Madras. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, attempted to drive the French out of the city, but was defeated at San Thome, close to Madras.

Fort St. David. Dupleix next attacked Fort St. David, fifteen miles south of Pondicherry, but failed to capture it.

Pondicherry. Finally, the English besieged Pondicherry, but were obliged to raise the siege.

(c) *Results.* Hostilities in India came to an end when peace was made between England and France at Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). Madras was restored to the British, so that the fighting in India did not result in any territorial changes, but it increased Dupleix's reputation as a military leader; it also showed the weak side of the French, their lack of team-work.

5. Second Carnatic War (1751-1755). (a) *Causes.*

Dupleix was resolved to take advantage of the unrest in the Carnatic and in Hyderabad to make French power supreme in India. In the Carnatic, Anwar-ud-din was opposed by Chanda Sahib; in the Deccan (Hyderabad), Nasir Jang was fighting with Muzaffar Jang. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang appealed for help to Nawab Dupleix, as he now called himself.

(b) *Leading Events: French Victories.* In the Carnatic Anwar-ud-din was defeated and slain; his son, Muhammad Ali, fled to Trichinopoly; and Chanda Sahib became Nawab of the Carnatic. In the Deccan Nasir Jang was likewise defeated and killed. Muzaffar Jang became Nizam, and after his murder by some of his own subjects, his successor, Salabat Jang, placed himself under French protection.

English Victories. Chanda Sahib, leaving his capital, Arcot, defenceless, marched upon Trichinopoly. Thereupon, Robert Clive, an officer in the service of the East India Company, made a dash for Arcot at the head of a handful of soldiers, and captured it. On learning that his capital was in enemy hands, Chanda Sahib detached a large force from the besieging army at Trichinopoly, and sent it under his son, Raja Sahib, to recapture Arcot. Raja Sahib, after a long and useless struggle, had at last to withdraw his forces. His retreating army was pursued by Clive and defeated at Arni and Kaveripak. The English then hurried to Trichinopoly to the rescue of Muhammad Ali. They forced Chanda Sahib to give up the siege and to retreat to the island of Srirangam, where he was in turn besieged. He finally surrendered on a promise that his life would be spared, but the promise was not kept, and he was executed by the Tanjorean general.

Dupleix's Last Stand. Nothing daunted by this great reverse, Dupleix continued the now unequal struggle.

The French suffered further partial defeats at Bahur, Covelong, and Chingleput; but time after time Dupleix made good the French losses, and he was once more able to lay siege to Trichinopoly. Meanwhile the home authorities, both in England and in France, wanted their servants in India to cease fighting. Peace negotiations were opened in India, but at first they broke down, because Dupleix insisted on retaining his title of Nawab of the Carnatic. It was only after his recall to France that the conflict came to an end.

(c) *Result—Treaty of Pondicherry (1755).* After Dupleix's departure, the British obtained all that they had been fighting for. The French gave up their claim to the Nawabi of the Carnatic; they recognized Muhammad Ali, the friend and the ally of the British, as Nawab. French power was on the decline, British influence was spreading.

6. Third Carnatic War (1756-1763). (a) *Causes.* Count de Lally, the commander-in-chief of the French forces in India, arrived in India in 1758, and was determined to retrieve the French losses. The English were anxious to put an end to French power in India. This was the real cause of the war; its occasion was the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe in 1756

(b) *Leading Events.* Lally, after taking Fort St. David (1758), found himself without any money, and tried to force the Raja of Tanjore to pay the seventy lakhs of rupees which he owed to France. He laid siege to Tanjore, but failed to capture the city. After having thus wasted a good deal of time, he resolved to capture Madras, and ordered General Bussy to leave the Northern Circars and to join him with all his available forces. The Raja of Vizianagram took advantage of Bussy's departure and with the help of the British successfully

rebelled against the French. The loss of the Northern Circars sealed the fate of French power in India, for the Nizam Salabat Jang abandoned the French and made friends with the British.



DURBAR OF SALABAT JANG

Meanwhile the siege of Madras proved a failure owing to the opportune arrival of the British fleet, and also to Lally's financial straits.

When the British started military operations against the French, Lally was no longer in a position to put up any effective resistance. The British gained a decisive victory at Wandiwash (1760). They captured Arcot, Devicota and Karikal, and besieged and took Pondicherry in January 1761.

(c) *Results.* The French reverses in India could not be made good because of the defeats they had suffered in Canada and in Europe. The Treaty of Paris (1763) put an end to all French ambitions to build an empire

in India. Pondicherry and a few places were restored to them, but it was a Pondicherry deprived of all its former glory, whose fortifications had been destroyed—a symbol, one might say, of the helplessness of the French in India.

7. Causes of French Failure and British Success.

There were capable leaders on both sides, but whereas the British in India stood together and were supported by the authorities at home, the French were divided amongst themselves and were left in the lurch by the home government. The French authorities not only failed to come to the assistance of their men in India, but treated their highest officers with little consideration. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace. Lally was tried and executed. The success of the British was due to team-work; the failure of the French was the result of lack of team-work.

8. Prominent Men. (a) *Dupleix*. He was the greatest Governor-General of the French possessions in India, and his aim in life was to build a French colonial empire and to expel the British. With this in view he began drilling Indian sepoys.

He profited by the dissensions in the Carnatic and in Hyderabad to establish French influence in those parts by capturing Madras in the First Carnatic War, and by effectively helping his allies, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, to triumph over their opponents, Unwar-ud-din and Nazir Jang in the Second Carnatic War.

The victories gained by Clive were a severe blow for Dupleix, but he never gave up the fight, and time after time he made good the French losses in the Second Carnatic War. When peace negotiations were opened, they broke down because Dupleix boldly claimed to be

acknowledged as Nawab of the Carnatic. Peace was not made until after his recall to France.

He returned home in disgrace. His failure was due to personal jealousies and lack of team-work among the French higher officers in India and to lack of support from the French Government.

(b) *Clive*. He entered the service of the Company as a civilian, but proved himself a brilliant military leader. In Southern India his campaign against Chanda Sahib was a great military triumph. The capture and defence of Arcot, the victories of Arni and Kaveripak, the relief of Trichinopoly and Chanda Sahib's surrender marked the beginning of the downfall of the French in Southern India, which was confirmed by Dupleix's recall to France.

As will be narrated afterwards, he also won distinction in Bengal, where he recaptured Calcutta from Siraj-ud-daulah, occupied Hughli, and defeated the Nawab of Plassey. When he returned from England after five years' absence (1760-1765) he made the Treaty of Allahabad and firmly established British power in Bengal.

The way in which he tricked Omichand has been defended by many, but as the *Cambridge History of India* observes: 'Had Omichand sought it, he could not have devised a more bitter revenge than the stain he brought upon the name of Clive.'

His success was undoubtedly due to his great military genius, but it must not be forgotten that he could not have attained it without the undivided support of his countrymen, both in India and at home.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the general causes of wars between the English and the French? [IV, 3]
2. What were the causes, the leading events and the results of the three Carnatic Wars? [IV, 4-6]

3. What were the causes of the success of the English and the failure of the French? [IV, 7]
4. Write a short note on Dupleix and on Clive. [IV, 8]

V. THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE IN BENGAL (1756-1767)

A. GROWTH OF BRITISH PRESTIGE

First War with Siraj-ud-daulah (1756-57). While the British and the French were at war in Southern India the Governor of Calcutta, fearing that the French at Chandernagore would attack the English settlement, started to put Fort William in a state of defence. The ruling Nawab, Siraj-ud-daulah, after protesting in vain against this being done without his authority, marched upon Calcutta and captured the town and its fort (1756).

Clive was sent from Madras to the help of Calcutta. He defeated Siraj-ud-daulah at Budge Budge, recaptured Calcutta and took Hughli. Siraj-ud-daulah had to give up all his conquests, to pay an indemnity, and to become an ally of the English.

B. THE FOUNDATION OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

1. First Step: The Second War with Siraj-ud-daulah (1757). (a) *Causes.* When the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, the British in Calcutta, not content with forcibly occupying Chandernagore, found fault with Siraj-ud-daulah for giving shelter to French fugitives from that town. They decided to depose him.

(b) *Leading Events.* Clive and Watson entered into a conspiracy with Mir Jafar, a discontented officer of the Nawab, who was anxious to secure the Nawabi for himself. Omichand, a rich merchant who acted as go-between, demanded a large share of the plunder, other-

wise he would betray the plot. He was silenced by being shown what was supposed to be the real private agreement entered into with Mir Jafar, in which his demands were granted. It was a sham agreement, signed by Clive; it also bore Watson's signature, which Clive forged for the occasion, when Watson refused to make use of such base trickery.

A decisive battle took place at Plassey (1757), where Clive with greatly inferior forces defeated the Nawab's army of 70,000 men. The victory, however, was not the result of skilful generalship. Mir Jafar, in command of a part of the Nawab's army, did not join in the battle. A stray shot killed the Nawab's general, Mir Madan. Mir Jafar treacherously advised the Nawab to order his troops to withdraw from the contest. Their retreat caused a panic, the Nawab's soldiers fled, and so did Siraj-ud-daulah.

(c) *Results.* Mir Jafar was proclaimed Nawab on granting to the Company the right of a Zemindar or landlord over a large tract of land, known as the Twenty-four Parganas. This was the first step in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency. Siraj-ud-daulah was taken prisoner and put to death.

2. Second Step: The Deposition of Mir Jafar and the Appointment of Mir Kasim (1760). After Clive had sailed for England, the servants of the Company thought only of making as much money as possible. As Mir Jafar's resources were exhausted, they resolved to replace him as Nawab. Their choice fell on Mir Kasim, who had come to Calcutta to discuss his master's financial difficulties. Mir Kasim came as an ambassador, he went home as Nawab.

Mir Jafar was forced to resign; and the new Nawab ceded to the English Midnapur, Chittagong and Burd-

wan. This was the second step in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency (1760).

3. Third Step: War with Mir Kasim (1761-1765).

(a) *Causes.* Mir Kasim's chief sources of income were the customs duties on the inland trade. When the servants of the Company refused to pay these duties and started selling to Indian merchants permits to carry on their inland trade without paying any customs duties, Mir Kasim abolished all transit duties throughout his dominions. The servants of the Company, indignant at being thus deprived of a profitable source of income, declared war against Mir Kasim.

(b) *Leading Events: Massacre of Patna.* As Mir Kasim had transferred his capital to Monghyr, the British had to go after him. They seized Patna, but Mir Kasim recaptured the town, where he imprisoned a number of British nationals and threatened to kill them if their countrymen continued to advance. The British army did advance, and Mir Kasim carried out his threat. 150 prisoners—soldiers, civilians and women—perished in the massacre of Patna (1763). The British thereupon de-throned Mir Kasim, and re-appointed as Nawab Mir Jafar, now an old man of seventy-two and a leper.

Defeat of Mir Kasim. They next attacked Mir Kasim and defeated him in three successive engagements at Gheria, Udwanulla and Monghyr, and marched upon Patna which they captured.

The Indian Alliance. In the last resort Mir Kasim made an alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, and with the Mughul emperor, Shah Allam II; but the allied Indian princes were utterly defeated at Buxar in 1764 and at Kora in 1765.

(c) *Results.* Clive returned to Bengal on the day of the battle of Kora, and reaped the fruits of the British

victories when he made the Treaty of Allahabad. Mir Kasim, who had sought safety in flight, was allowed to live and die in obscurity. On payment of fifty lakhs of rupees Oudh was restored to Shuja-ud-daulah with the exception of Allahabad and the surrounding tracts. These were given to the Emperor Shah Allam II, who in return granted to the Company the Diwani of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar (1765). The Diwani was in theory the right to collect the revenue in those three provinces, but in reality it amounted to virtual sovereignty.

The granting of the Diwani was the third and final step in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the three steps in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency? [B, 1-3]
2. Show the importance of the Treaty of Allahabad. [B, 3(c)]
3. What were the relations between the British and Siraj-ud-daulah; between the British and Mir Jafar; between the British and Mir Kasim? [B, 1-3]
4. Write notes on Plassey, Buxar and Kora; on Mir Kasim, Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Allam II.

VI. THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN SOUTHERN INDIA

The first two steps in the foundation of British rule in Southern India were the French defeat in the Second Carnatic War and the Nizam Salabat Jang joining the British after the French had lost the Northern Circars in the Third Carnatic War. (*See Section IV.*) The last two steps were the overthrow of the Muslim rulers of Mysore and the defeat of the Marathas.

1. The Rulers of Mysore. They were Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. Haidar Ali started life as an ordinary

soldier; he became the commander-in-chief to the Hindu Raja of Mysore. He afterwards deprived his royal master of the throne of Mysore and became the founder of a Muslim dynasty, of which there were but two reigning members, Haidar himself and his son, Tippu Sultan.

2. The First Mysore War (1766-1769). (a) Causes.

The Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas looked upon Haidar Ali as a dangerous rival. They combined their forces against him, and the English joined the alliance in the hope of conquering fresh territories.

(b) *Leading Events.* The triple alliance against Haidar Ali had no sound basis and was not loyally observed. Haidar Ali bought off the Marathas, and persuaded the Nizam to side with him against the British. The first battles were fought at the Pass of Changama and at Trinomali. Some say that the British were victorious, others that they were defeated. What seems to have happened is that they successfully avoided defeat at the Pass of Changama and took refuge in Trinomali, which Haidar Ali, after a long siege, attempted in vain to take by assault. His failure to do so amounted to a defeat, and the Nizam thought it prudent to abandon Haidar Ali and to rejoin the British, confirming the cession of the Northern Circars as a peace-offering.

Though he had suffered great territorial losses Haidar Ali continued the now unequal struggle. His perseverance was rewarded. He inflicted several defeats on the British, marched rapidly southwards and threatened Madras. The Government of Madras were panic-stricken and made peace.

(c) *Results.* Haidar Ali recovered all his lost territories, and he and the British promised to assist each other in defensive wars (1769).

3. Second Mysore War (1780-1784). (a) *Causes.* When the Marathas invaded Mysore in 1771, the British, forgetting their treaty obligations of 1769, failed to come to Haidar Ali's help. They also occupied Mahe, on which place he depended for his military supplies. Accordingly, when England found herself at war with the American colonies, France, Holland and Spain, Haidar Ali tried to take advantage of the situation to put an end to British rule in India.

(b) *Leading Events.* Haidar Ali was at first successful. He invaded the Carnatic, routed Colonel Baillie's detachment at Pollilor and captured Arcot and Vellore. He afterwards suffered a major defeat at Porto Novo, and further reverses at Pollilor, Shalingur and Arni. Haidar did not long survive the defeat of Arni; he died in December 1782.

His son and successor, Tippu Sultan, continued the fight. Though he was hard pressed by the victorious English, already marching upon his capital Seringapatam, his capture of Mangalore turned the scales in his favour. The Madras Government were once more panic-stricken and sued for peace.

(c) *Results.* Tippu Sultan recovered all his lost territories, and the British did not profit by the advantages they had gained elsewhere.

4. Third Mysore War (1790-1792). (a) *Causes.* Tippu's ambitious designs for extending his dominions, and his unwise policy of religious persecution, made it possible for the English to persuade the Nizam and the Marathas to join them against him.

(b) *Leading Events.* At Arikera, a short distance from Seringapatam, Tippu Sultan fought a major battle to defend his capital, but he was defeated. When his enemies marched upon Seringapatam, he sued for peace.

(c) *Results.* Tippu Sultan lost half of his kingdom. The territories taken from him were divided among the allies, the British share being the districts of Malabar, Salem and Madura.

5. The Fourth Mysore War (1798-1799). (a) *Causes.* Tippu Sultan, anxious to gain back his lost territories, allied himself with the French who were then at war with England.

(b) *Leading Events.* General Stuart was to invade Mysore from the south-west, and General Harris from the south-east. In order to prevent the invading forces from combining, Tippu Sultan first attacked Stuart's army, but was defeated at Sedasir. Next, he marched with all his available forces against Harris's army, but was defeated at Malavelli.

He retreated to his capital Seringapatam, which was captured in May 1799. Tippu Sultan fell during the last stages of the fight.

(c) *Results.* Tippu Sultan's descendants were deprived of the right of succession. A descendant of the Hindu dynasty was replaced on the throne of Mysore. The British added Canara and Coimbatore to their ever-growing dominions.

The successful conclusion of the Fourth Mysore War was the third step in the foundation of British rule in Southern India.

6. Fourth Step. The fourth step was the defeat of the Marathas. (*See IV.*)

QUESTIONS

1. What were the four steps in the foundation of British rule in Southern India?
2. Can it be shown from the causes of the four Mysore Wars that the British attitude towards the rulers of Mysore was one of undisguised hostility? [2(a), 3(a), 4(a)]

3. How did the cowardly Government of Madras save Haidar Ali from being defeated in the First Mysore War, and Tippu Sultan in the Second Mysore War? [2-3]
4. Give a brief account of Haidar Ali's military career. [1-3]
5. Show that Tippu Sultan was lacking in courage, but that he was defeated by the superior diplomacy and the military strength of the British. [3-4]

VII. THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

Before 1798. Prior to Wellesley's arrival in India in 1798 as Governor-General, the servants of the Company, in their dealings with the Indian princes, followed at first a policy of intervention (1746-1793), afterwards of non-intervention (1793-1798), and finally reverted again to intervention (1798-1805).

A. INTERVENTION (1746-1793)

1. First Beginnings. The policy of intervention began during the Anglo-French conflict for supremacy (1746-1761), in which the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad were involved. It was likewise followed by Clive in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency (1756-1765). It was also the policy of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis.

2. Warren Hastings (1772-1774-1785). Warren Hastings started his Indian career as Clive's successor in the governorship of Bengal (1772-1774). He was afterwards appointed the first Governor-General (1774-1785).

(a) *Warlike Intervention.* While he was Governor-General, he sided with Nana Fadnavis against the Bombay Government, but later he sent out a force which defeated Nana Fadnavis's army in the First Maratha War (1773-1774): and during his term of office the Second Mysore War was fought.

(b) *Financial Intervention.* As soon as he became Governor of Bengal, he made it his policy to improve the Company's finances at the cost of the Indian princes. He reduced by one half, *i.e.*, sixteen lakhs, the yearly allowance of the Nawab of Bengal. He saved the Company another yearly expense of twenty-six lakhs by withholding the tribute promised to the emperor Shah Allam II, on the pretext that the latter had made common cause with the Marathas. He obtained fifty lakhs from Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, for restoring to him Kora and Allahabad. These districts had been taken from him and given to Shah Allam II by the Treaty of Allahabad (1765). After Shah Allam II had joined the Marathas, these territories were restored to Shuja-ud-daulah at the above-mentioned price. He got another forty lakhs from the Nawab of Oudh for helping him against the Rohillas; in all, a yearly saving of forty-two lakhs and an additional donation of ninety lakhs.

He pursued the same financial policy after he had become Governor-General. He exacted seventy-six lakhs from the Begums of Oudh. Again, when the Raja of Banaras, Chaith Singh, who was already paying a yearly tribute of twenty-five lakhs, refused to give an additional five lakhs, he was arrested by Hastings' order. But the Raja's followers killed the guards and enabled their master to escape. Thereupon Warren Hastings replaced him by a more docile ruler who was ready to pay every year a tribute of forty lakhs.

These money exactions became afterwards the chief accusations against Warren Hastings during the long trial he had to undergo before the House of Lords (1788-1795), which ended in his acquittal.

Further to increase the revenue of the Company, Warren Hastings established the Temporary Settlement,

by which vast tracts of land were leased for a period of five years to the highest bidding Zemindar.

3. Cornwallis (1786-1793). He followed much the same policy as his predecessor.

(a) *Warlike Intervention.* He fought the Third Mysore War against Tippu Sultan (1790-1792) and succeeded in defeating him.

(b) *Financial Intervention.* He introduced the Permanent Settlement, so called because the land revenue was fixed once for all. The revenue was to be paid by the Zemindars, who thus became landlords and landowners to their own great advantage, but to the disadvantage of the farmers, who were deprived of their lands and became mere tenants.

B. NON-INTERVENTION (1793-1798)

1. Definition. The policy of intervention from 1746 to 1793 had been a source of great territorial gains. It was also the cause of many quarrels with a number of Indian rulers. These quarrels led to wars, and the wars proved very expensive. Accordingly the authorities at home ordered their servants in India not to interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes, and to let them alone. Hence the name 'non-intervention policy'. However, the Governor-General had to be careful to see that no Indian ruler should become so powerful as to surpass all the others, for in such a case he might be a danger to the Company. In other words he had to maintain the balance of power among the Indian princes.

2. Sir John Shore (1793-1798). He obeyed the Company's orders, and did not interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes. As a result, the balance of power among them was seriously upset. The Marathas waged war against the Nizam and defeated him. Tippu Sultan

was intriguing with the French to drive the English out of India. Holkar was steadily becoming the most powerful among the Maratha rulers. When Sir John Shore's term of office came to an end, the authorities at home realized that the policy of non-intervention was a failure, and they authorized Lord Wellesley, afterwards the Marquis Wellesley, to revert to the policy of intervention.

C. INTERVENTION (1798-1805)

1. The Subsidiary System. The subsidiary system was a form of intervention in the affairs of the Indian princes. The prince with whom a subsidiary treaty was concluded could not engage the services of any foreigner belonging to a nation hostile to England—a measure directed against the French. He could not make war nor enter into an alliance with other Indian princes without previous leave from the British. He consented to his State being occupied by a protecting army, for whose upkeep he had to pay a *subsidy*, i.e., money in return for military aid. Hence the name 'Subsidiary System'. To meet this subsidy he had to cede to the Company tracts of land whose land revenue covered the expenses of the army of occupation.

2. Lord Wellesley and the Subsidiary System. The subsidiary system was not devised by Wellesley; it had already been applied in particular instances before his arrival in India. It became associated with his name because he made it his policy to establish it on a vast scale.

(a) *Hyderabad.* The Nizam's troops were being trained by a French officer, and the Nizam himself was anti-British, pro-French and pro-Tippu. Accordingly Wellesley forced him to conclude a temporary subsidiary treaty in 1798, and a general and perpetual subsidiary alliance in 1800.

(b) *Mysore*. Next came the turn of Mysore. Tippu Sultan was defeated and slain in the Fourth Mysore War (1798-1799). His descendants were deprived of the right of succession, and the Hindu dynasty was restored. The new Hindu ruler was of course ready to sign a subsidiary treaty (1799).

(c) *Oudh*. To ward off the danger of an Afghan invasion, which the Oudh army was too weak to prevent, Wellesley forced the Nawab of Oudh to subscribe to a subsidiary treaty and also compelled him to give up half of his territory, the Doab and Rohilkhand (1801).

(d) *The Maratha Confederacy*. When Baji Rao II fled to Bassein, he was readily promised British protection. The price of that protection was the treaty of Bassein and the acceptance of a subsidiary alliance (1802). Bhonsle and Sindia were defeated in the Second and the Third (also sometimes known as the Second) Maratha Wars and signed the treaties of Deogaon and Arjungaon (1803), which were merely copies of the treaty of Bassein. Wellesley's recall in 1805 saved Holkar for the time being from the fate of the other Maratha rulers.

As a result of these subsidiary treaties the Company acquired vast tracts of territory.

3. Annexation. Furthermore, maladministration in several States gave Wellesley an excuse to annexe them, Surat and Tanjore in 1799 and the Carnatic in 1801.

The final result was that, when Wellesley was recalled in 1805, British supremacy was firmly established in India.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that the policy of intervention was followed by the servants of the Company long before Wellesley's arrival in India, from 1664 to 1793. [A, 1-3]

2. What is meant by the policy of non-intervention? When was it started and with what results? [B, 1-2]
3. What is meant by the Subsidiary System, and why did it become associated with Wellesley's name? [C, 1-2]
4. How was the Subsidiary System established in India during Wellesley's term of office, and with what results? [C, 2]

VIII. BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

A. ADMINISTRATION

1. Prior to the Regulating Act of 1773. From 1664 to 1773 Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were three independent administration units, each of them under its own Governor and Council. There was, therefore, no administrative uniformity in the ever-growing dominions of the Company. For example, in Bengal Clive left the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue in the hands of the officers of the Nawab, while the British saw to the military occupation of the new provinces. This system of government was known as the Dual System and was the source of many evils. Justice was for sale, and the Nawab's revenue collectors acted like birds of prey, and enriched themselves at the cost of the suffering peasantry. The Dual System was afterwards suppressed by Clive; it was never established in Madras and Bombay.

Nor were the servants of the Company above reproach. They profited by this lack of administrative uniformity to practise fraud with impunity. They traded on their own account, and accepted so-called presents, which were in reality bribes; the sole aim of many of them was to enrich themselves in every way as quickly as possible and then leave India.

2. The Regulating Act (1773). When the Company applied to the British Government for help in the form

of a loan of £1,000,000, Lord North took the opportunity of forcing the Regulating Act upon the Company. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were made subordinate to the Governor of Calcutta. A Council of four members was established to aid the Governor-General in the administration of the Company's territories. A Supreme Court of Justice was established in Calcutta.

3. Pitt's India Bill (1784). The Regulating Act was a great failure, mainly because no official measure could be taken unless it met with the approval of the majority of the administrative body, *i.e.*, the Governor-General and the four members of the Council. Three of the members were hostile to the Governor-General, and they outvoted him on every question. Their meetings were merely occasions for unseemly personal quarrels. Pitt's India Bill put an end to this disgraceful state of affairs.

The management of all political affairs, the waging of offensive warfare, the entering into treaties with the Indian princes were entrusted to a Board of Control, consisting of six members appointed by the Crown. The Board of Directors retained the management of commercial affairs; but even in this matter their authority was no longer what it had been, for all their orders to the servants of the Company had to be previously approved by the Board of Control. As regards the choice of the Governor-General, the Board of Directors had the privilege of proposing a candidate for that office, while the Board of Control had the sole right to appoint him. In short, only the semblance of power was left to the Board of Directors, and the real governing body of the Company was the Board of Control.

B. POLICY

1. Period of Conquest. From 1664 onwards the policy pursued by the servants of the Company was one

of conquest and territorial acquisition. While the conquests were being made, the administration of the newly acquired territories remained, for the time being, a matter of secondary importance. In most cases the existing system of administration was taken over, so long as it was not contrary to British interests. The chief concern of the Company's servants was to benefit their masters and themselves.

2. Period of Reforms. In course of time the administration of the country claimed the attention of the new masters of India, who began making useful revenue and judicial reforms.

(a) *Revenue Reforms.* Various land revenue systems were established.

A Temporary Settlement was devised by Warren Hastings for Bengal. Vast tracts of land were leased to the highest bidding Zemindar for a fixed period—hence it was called the Temporary Settlement—the time being a period of five years (1772).

The Permanent Settlement took the place of the Temporary Settlement in 1790 during Cornwallis's term of office. It was called the Permanent Settlement because the revenue was fixed once for all. Under it the Zemindars became permanent landlords and landowners. Neither system proved beneficial to the farmers; they were completely at the mercy of the Zemindars, whose wealth became proverbial.

The Ryotwari System was started in Madras by the Governor, Sir Hector Munro, in 1792, though it was not fully developed till 1855. According to this system the revenue is paid by each cultivator or ryot, the acknowledged proprietor of the land. As the settlement is made and renewed for a fixed period, usually thirty years, there is no danger of the farmer having to pay additional

charges and being deprived of his land for not being able to do so. Since this system respects the rights of the farmer, it is superior to the other two systems.

(b) *Judicial Reforms.* In Bengal the administration of justice was transferred to the servants of the Company, and at first entrusted to the men in charge of the revenue, who were collectors and judges. Afterwards the collectors were deprived of their judicial powers, and District Judges were appointed to decide civil and criminal cases. In this manner a well-organized judicial department was gradually established; perhaps not perfect, but a great improvement all the same.

One great defect of this department was that it was entirely in the hands of Europeans. Those Indians who entered the service of the Company had to be satisfied with offices of little importance. As a rule they were not very efficient, for the really capable men did not care to apply for subordinate positions, which would have lowered them in the eyes of their fellow countrymen.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief summary of British administration from the year 1667 to the year 1774. [A, 1-3]
2. What financial and judicial reforms were gradually introduced? [(B, 2(a)-(b))]
3. Mention the various land revenue systems, and comment on their respective merits. [B, 2(a)]

PERIOD IV—THE BRITISH PERIOD (1818-1950)

I. CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

I. NON-INTERVENTION PRELUDE (1805-1813)

The creation of subsidiary states by Wellesley had involved him in long and costly wars. The Court of Proprietors or the shareholders in the Company strongly objected to the expenses thus incurred, which caused them great financial losses. After Wellesley's recall they insisted on adopting the policy of non-intervention, *i.e.*, of not interfering in the affairs of the Indian princes.

A. REAL NON-INTERVENTION (1805-1807)

1. Lord Cornwallis (1805). Lord Cornwallis, who had already held that office from 1786 to 1793, was re-appointed Governor-General on the understanding that he would follow the non-intervention policy. He landed in India on July 30th, 1805, and died less than three months later, while he was on his way to make peace with Holkar, who was then being worsted by General Lake and had taken refuge with Sindia. The latter had come to know of the projected change of policy and no longer acknowledged the overlordship of the British in spite of the treaty of Arjungaon.

2. Sir George Barlow (1805-1807). He was the senior member of the Council. When he became Acting Governor-General, he followed his predecessor's policy. He made peace with Holkar and Sindia, but he absolutely refused to reconsider the clauses of the treaty of Bassein.

The result was that towards the end of his two years' term of office British power was greatly weakened. The Maratha chieftains were anxious to regain their independence. Ranjit Singh was trying to bring the other Sikh princes under his sway. Travancore was in a dangerous state of unrest, whilst Rajputana and Bundelkhand were overrun by professional robbers, called Pindaris, who were strongly in favour of the Company's non-intervention policy.

B. NOMINAL NON-INTERVENTION

Lord Minto (1807-1813). As soon as Lord Minto landed in India, he realized the harm done by two years of non-intervention, the policy he was expected to follow. He did not ask the Company to change their policy, but persuaded them to allow him, in particular instances, to take strong measures to safeguard British interests. His term of office was like a bottle labelled 'Non-Intervention', but actually filled with 'Intervention' mixture.

He put down anarchy in Bundelkhand and suppressed a rebellion in Travancore and a mutiny among discontented officers at Madras. He made a friendly alliance with Ranjit Singh and maintained the balance of power among the Sikh princes by establishing a British protectorate over the smaller Sikh states between the Jumna and the Sutlej. He tried to make alliances with Persia and Afghanistan, but the Missions sent to these countries did not prove successful. Finally, when war broke out between England and France (1803-1814), he actively supported the Home Government and accompanied the Java expedition (1810).

On his return from the expedition Lord Minto learned the news that the Earl of Moira, better known as the Marquis of Hastings, had been appointed his successor.

It has been said that Lord Minto's policy was a brilliant vindication of Wellesley's principles.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was the policy of non-intervention again adopted after Wellesley's recall? How was it carried out by Cornwallis and Barlow, and with what result? [A, 1-2]
2. Give a short account of Lord Minto's term of office as Governor-General. [B]

II. INTERVENTION POLICY (1813-1856)

After Lord Minto's term of office, the policy of intervention was once more openly followed in order to put British power in India on a firm basis.

A. THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS (1813-1823)

This consolidation of British power was the end which Hastings had in view. To attain this end he waged offensive wars and formed alliances with the Indian princes.

1. Offensive Wars. (a) *Nepalese War* (1814-1816). *Causes.* Profiting by the non-intervention policy, the Gurkhas had occupied no fewer than two hundred villages in British territory. When they ignored Hastings' request that they should be restored to the British, war broke out.

Leading Events. Four British military units invaded Nepal from different points. Three of them were defeated, but the fourth one under General Ochterlony was successful. Ochterlony occupied one Gurkha stronghold after the other, captured the hill fortress of Malaon, and defeated the Gurkhas at Makwanpur, five marches from their capital, Katmandu. Thereupon the Gurkhas sued for peace.

Result. By the treaty of Sagauli (1815) the English obtained possession of the districts between the Jumna and the Sutlej, including the now famous hill stations of Simla, Mussoorie and Naini Tal. The Gurkhas consented to receive a British Resident, and they became the most loyal friends and allies of the English.

(b) *Pindari War* (1815-1819). The Pindaris, more than 50,000 in number, formed organized robber-bands and overran the whole of Bundelkhand. Hastings ordered British troops to encircle them and drive them into a more and more limited area. Those who tried to break through the encircling army were beaten back, and suffered heavily. Others, who tried to take refuge in the villages, were mercilessly killed by the people for their past misdeeds. But it took no less than four years (1815-1819) to exterminate them.

(c) *Fourth Maratha War* (1817-1818). When the Maratha chieftains made a combined effort to regain their independence, Hastings defeated them in the Fourth Maratha War. The Peshwa was deposed; the new ruler of Nagpur, and Holkar and Sindia subscribed to the Subsidiary System. (*See* Period III, IX.)

2. Forming of Alliances. Hastings forced the defeated Maratha princes and the chiefs of Rajputana to enter into subordinate alliance with the British by making treaties with them. British power was thereby consolidated, and the Company became the supreme political authority in India. This supremacy is called Paramountcy. It is the contrary of the theory of the balance of power which the policy of non-intervention had tried to establish.

During Hastings' term of office the British fought 28 pitched battles, captured 120 forts, and made 19 major treaties with Indian princes.

QUESTIONS

1. Contrast the policy of the Marquis of Hastings with that of his three predecessors (real non-intervention, nominal non-intervention, open intervention).
2. Show that Hastings completed the task begun by Wellesley (offensive wars and alliances). [1-2]
3. How did Hastings consolidate British power in India? [1-2]

B. LORD AMHERST (1823-1828)

He extended the intervention policy further east by waging war against Burma. (See p. 246.) He also strengthened British supremacy in India by declaring war against Prince Durjan Sal, who had usurped the throne of Bhurtpore. The fortress town was besieged and captured on January 17th, 1820. Finally, Lord Amherst undertook a grand tour of Northern India and visited the Indian princes; and the latter, mindful of what had happened at Bhurtpore, now came forward as the subordinate allies of the Paramount Power.

C. LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-1835)

He contributed to the consolidation of British power in India by following a policy of peace. His aim was to make the Indian people realize that their new masters did not mean to oppress them but to improve their lot. He introduced many useful reforms, social, administrative and educational.

1. Social Reforms. (a) *Abolition of Sati* (see Period IV, VII).

(b) *Suppression of Thugs.* The Thugs practised a religious cult of the lowest kind, known as Thuggee. It consisted in propitiating their goddess Kali by the murder of innocent victims. One or more Thugs, disguised as merchants, would join a batch of unsuspecting

travellers, win their confidence, and at last murder them. The murder was invariably done by strangling the victim with a kerchief or scarf. Strangling became a fine art, handed down from father to son among the Thugs. They were robbers and murderers, bound together by family ties, superstitious rites and love of illicit gain. Their crimes were on a dreadful scale: one Thug confessed that he had had a share in the strangling of 719 persons.

Bentinck entrusted Major Sleeman with the extermination of the Thugs. The work took him seven years (1831-1837), and more than 3,000 Thugs were punished. When Bentinck retired, they had ceased to terrorize India.

(c) *Sepoys' Status.* Bentinck also raised the social standard of the sepoys by increasing their pay and suppressing the punishment of flogging.

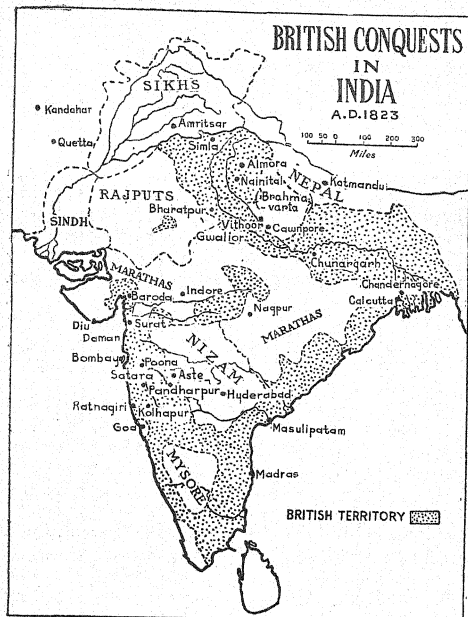
2. Administrative Reforms. It was during his term of office that Indians became eligible to public offices and appointments.

3. Educational Reforms. In order that Indians might be able to qualify for the Public Service, he opened educational establishments for them. It was then that English was formally adopted as the medium of instruction in public schools and colleges, and in course of time it became the *lingua franca* of India.

N.B. Lord William Bentinck continued to follow the intervention policy; he interfered in the affairs of the Indian princes. He placed Mysore under British administration and annexed Coorg.

D. THE FRONTIER POLICY

1. Origin and Meaning. With a view to establishing firmly British power in India the Marquis of Hastings'



successors adopted the Frontier Policy. British statesmen at home and the authorities in India dreaded Russia's steady advance towards Afghanistan and India. This fear of Russian colonial expansion in Asia gave rise

to the Frontier Policy, which consisted in not tolerating any Russo-Afghan alliance.

2. First Afghan War (1838-1842). *Causes.* In Afghanistan Dost Muhammad and Shah Shuja were rival claimants to the throne. Dost Muhammad defeated his opponent, and asked the British to help him to reconquer Peshawar which Ranjit Singh had annexed. As the British could not afford to offend Ranjit Singh they refused to comply with the Afghan ruler's request. The latter then approached Russia for assistance. Thereupon Lord Auckland (1836-1842) made an alliance with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja for the purpose of placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Afghanistan instead of Dost Muhammad.

Events. Under Lord Auckland: The British forces marched into Afghanistan, Shah Shuja was proclaimed Amir of Afghanistan, and Dost Muhammad was deported to Calcutta.

After the greater part of the British troops had withdrawn, Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Muhammad, profited by Shah Shuja's unpopularity to start a revolution. The Political Agent and Shah Shuja were murdered, and the British force stationed at Kabul set out on its way back to India. It was a disastrous retreat, which ended in a general massacre. Dr. Brydon was the only survivor to reach Jalalabad with the dreadful news.

Under Lord Ellenborough: This disaster led to the recall of Lord Auckland and to the appointment of Lord Ellenborough (1842). The new Governor-General entrusted the military operations to Generals Nott and Pollock. Kabul was recaptured, and part of the city was destroyed by way of reprisal. Then the British forces withdrew from Afghanistan.

Result. Never was there a more useless sacrifice of

men and money. The British went to war to depose Dost Muhammad; they did so; and finally they consented to his again becoming Amir of Afghanistan.

N.B.—The Frontier Policy continued to be followed after the suppression of the Company when India was placed under the Crown, while Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon were Viceroy's. The following further instances of this policy are mentioned here for the sake of completeness, though they do not belong to the period under review.

3. Second Afghan War (1878-1880). Causes. In 1876 the English occupied Quetta, commanding the Bolan Pass and the road to Kandahar. The Amir, Sher Ali, fearing that this would be the first step in the subjection of Afghanistan, made friends with Russia; he received a Russian envoy, but refused to receive a British envoy. Lord Lytton accordingly declared war.

Events. Under Lord Lytton: The English advanced into Afghanistan, and the Amir fled to Russian territory, whence he never returned. Yakub Khan, his son and successor, signed the treaty of Gandamak by which he agreed to receive a permanent British Resident at his court.

There then followed a second edition of the tragedy of the First Afghan War. Sir Louis Cavagnari, who had been appointed British Resident, was murdered at Kabul together with his escort. Thereupon the forces still stationed in Afghanistan, under the command of Generals Stewart and Roberts, marched upon Kabul and occupied the town. Yakub Khan surrendered, was deposed, and became a State prisoner.

Afterwards, Ayub Khan, Yakub Khan's brother, attacked the English, defeated General Burrows at Maiwand and pursued the remnant of his brigade to Kandahar, which he besieged. Then General Roberts made his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar, covering 300 miles of mountainous country in three weeks and relieving the besieged city.

Under Lord Ripon: Meanwhile the resignation of the Ministry at home (Disraeli's Ministry was replaced by Gladstone's) led to the resignation of Lord Lytton and to the appointment of Lord Ripon. The latter brought the Second Afghan War to a speedy conclusion.

Result. Abdhur Rahman, a grandson of Dost Muhammad, became Amir. The British forces withdrew from Afghanistan. The British retained Quetta, and made it very plain that they would never tolerate a Russo-Afghan alliance.

4. Under Lord Curzon (1899-1905). (a) *The Problem.* During Lord Curzon's term of office the Frontier Policy became an acute subject of discussion among statesmen and politicians. There were those who wanted to occupy the western mountain ranges: their cry was 'On to the Oxus'. Others advised a less aggressive policy, and their cry was 'Back to the Indus'.

(b) *Curzon's Solution.* Lord Curzon adopted a middle course between these two extremes. He entrusted the outposts of the British empire in India to a tribal militia, with the British forces in the rear. Furthermore, he established the North-West Frontier Province to serve as a buffer state (*i.e.*, a small state between two large ones) between Afghanistan and British India. In order to win the goodwill of the ruler of Afghanistan, he openly acknowledged his independence by granting him the title of King, and promised to continue the payment of the subsidy originally granted by Lord Lansdowne.

N.B.—In order to complete the account of Anglo-Afghan relations, mention is here made of the Third Afghan War.

5. Third Afghan War (April-May 1919). *Causes.* This war was not the result of the Frontier Policy. This

time Afghanistan was the aggressor. Turkey, siding with Germany in the First World War, shared in Germany's defeat, and the Sultan's temporal and spiritual power was considerably weakened. In Afghanistan, as everywhere else, the Muslims were in a state of angry discontent. Amanullah, who had become Amir in 1919, realized that he had either to see his country the victim of civil strife and anarchy, or to declare war against the British. He chose the latter alternative.

Events. A strong military force marched through the Khyber into Afghanistan, but the war was won by the air-bombing of Jalalabad and Kabul, and by the destruction of the Afghan fort Spin Baldak by long-distance guns. The Afghan army had no up-to-date weapons of modern warfare and, less than a month after hostilities had broken out, the Afghans sued for peace.

Result. Peace was signed at Rawalpindi, on August 8th, 1919. The importation of arms into Afghanistan through India was forbidden. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy and the payment of the reigning Amir's subsidy were withheld. Another outcome of the hostilities was a protracted guerilla warfare with the tribesmen of Waziristan, who had played their part in them; they could not be brought to open battle, because they could always take shelter in their mountains.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the origin and meaning of the Frontier Policy? To what problem did it give rise in the days of Lord Curzon and how was the problem solved? [D, 1, 4]
2. What were the causes of the First and the Second Afghan Wars? What disasters did the British suffer in these two wars, but with what different results? [D, 2-3]
3. Show that the First Afghan War was a useless sacrifice of men and money (causes, events, result). [D, 2]
4. How did the Second Afghan War make it clear to Afghanistan that a Russo-Afghan alliance would never be tolerated by the British (causes, events, result)? [D, 3]

5. What was the cause of the Third Afghan War, and why did it last less than a month? [D, 5]

E. ANNEXATION OF SIND (1843)

British power in India was made stronger by the annexation of Sind.

1. British Policy. In 1809 Lord Minto made the first treaty with the Amirs of Sind in order to exclude French influence from their country. From that time onwards, for thirty years and more, the British, in their dealings with Sind, pursued a policy of unjustifiable interference, and forced the Amirs to subscribe to a number of treaties increasingly unjust and indefensible.

2. The War with Sind (1843). *Cause.* This policy of open antagonism came to a head when Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844) falsely accused the Amirs of hostility to the British during the First Afghan War (1838-1842).

Leading Events. Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind. The Amirs were defeated at Miani and Dabo, and exiled. Sind was annexed.

3. Comment. In the words of Sir Charles Napier: 'We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so; and a very advantageous, useful, human piece of rascality it will be.' The Home authorities, fully aware of the injustice which had been done, were of opinion that 'the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning Sind'. They did not even restore the prize-money, which must have been enormous, since Outram's share, which he refused to take, but gave to charity, was no less than £ 3,000.

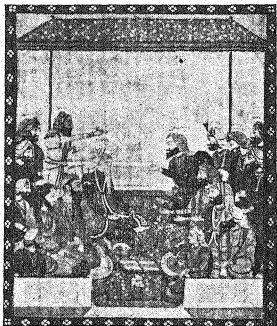
QUESTIONS

1. What was the British policy towards Sind? What were the causes, the events and the results of the war of 1843? [1-2]
2. Comment on Innes's statement: If the Afghan episode is the most disastrous in our annals, that of Sind is even less excusable.

F. ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB (1845-1849)

British power in India was likewise strengthened by the defeat of the Sikhs and the annexation of their countries.

1. The Sikhs under Ranjit Singh (1780-1839). Ranjit Singh, who was born in 1780, was but a boy of twelve when in 1792 he became the chieftain of a little Sikh state. Six years later, in 1798, Zaman Shah of Kabul, in return for the help he had received from Ranjit Singh,



COURT OF RANJIT SINGH

appointed him Governor of Lahore with the title of Raja. This was the beginning of Ranjit Singh's successful military career.

His aim was to become the supreme ruler of all the Sikhs. At first he tried to extend his authority eastwards over the Sikh states between the Sutlej and the Jumna, but his attempts in this direction were opposed by the British. He was wise enough not to wage war but to sign a treaty of perpetual friendship with the British at Amritsar in 1809.

Then he turned to the north, the north-west and the west, to establish his authority there. He fought successfully against the Gurkhas and the Afghans, seized the Kangra District from the Gurkhas, captured Attock and Multan, occupied Kashmir, and became the master of Peshawar.

Even greater than his military conquests was his success as an administrator. He united the Sikh states into a powerful nation over which he ruled with benevolent despotism.

2. After Ranjit Singh (1839-1849). (a) *His Successors.* Ranjit Singh's successors were incapable men, neither administrators nor military leaders. Little by little unrest and disorder spread through the Sikh kingdom, and the Punjab was at the mercy of the army whom the Khalsa or Council of the State was unable to control. This prevailing anarchy was the cause of the two Sikh Wars.

(b) *The First Sikh War (1845-1846).* Under Lord Hardinge (1844-1846): *Cause.* Incredible though it may sound, it would seem that the Sikh Government devised a plan to invade British territory in the hope that their turbulent soldiers might be destroyed in India. They made the army leaders believe that the British were preparing for aggressive warfare against their country. The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej in December 1845.

Leading Events. Fighting took place at Mudki and Ferozeshah, Baddiwal, Aliwal and Sobraon. In the first two and the last two of these encounters the Sikhs were defeated; at Baddiwal they were victorious. But the single Sikh victory was a minor military action while their four defeats were major battles. Their final defeat was mainly due to lack of leadership and perhaps even to treachery on the part of certain military leaders. The Sikh soldiers fought with desperate courage and inflicted heavy losses on the English, but they themselves suffered heavier losses still.

Result. On March 9th, 1846, the Sikhs had to accept the treaty of Lahore, the terms of which were dictated by Lord Hardinge: the cession of the Jalandhar Doab, *i.e.*, the territory between the Sutlej and the Bias; a war indemnity of one and a half crores of rupees, partly in cash and partly in territory (the hill districts between the Bias and the Indus, including Kashmir and Hazara), the reduction of the Sikh army to 20,000 men.

(c) *The Second Sikh War (1848-1849). Causes.* The accepted version is that the Lahore Darbar demanded a million pounds from Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan, as the price of his office, and he indignantly resigned. Shortly afterwards two British officers, who had been sent to Multan to install the new governor, were murdered, and Mulraj openly raised the standard of revolt. The British troops hastily withdrew from the Punjab, and war became inevitable. In the words of Dalhousie: 'The Sikh nation has called for war, and they will have it with a vengeance.'

Leading Events. The first encounter between the opposing armies took place on January 13th, 1849, at Chilianwala, where the British won the day, but had more than two thousand men and officers either killed or wounded. They were more successful at Multan

which they besieged and took by assault on January 22nd, 1849. The decisive action was fought at Gujrat, a town near Chenab, where the Sikhs suffered a complete defeat.

The British troops were commanded by General Gough, and after the battle of Chilianwala, in which so many British soldiers were killed or wounded, the Home authorities recalled him and appointed Sir Charles Napier as his successor. But before the latter arrived in India, General Gough, retrieved his military reputation in the battle of Gujrat.

Result. The Punjab was annexed. Mulraj was tried for the murder of the British officers and imprisoned for life.

QUESTIONS

1. What place does Ranjit Singh occupy in the history of the Sikh nation? [1]
2. What were the causes, the leading events and the results of the First Sikh War? [2(b)]
3. How was the Punjab annexed by Lord Dalhousie? [2(c)]

G. ANNEXATION OF BURMA (1824-1826 & 1852)

The final step in the consolidation of British power in India was the annexation of Burma.

1. First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826). *Causes.* There had long been strained relations between Burma and British India; occasional clashes had likewise taken place, to a great extent the result of Burmese aggressiveness. When the King of Burma started preparations for an attack on Bengal, Lord Amherst declared war.

Leading Events. An expeditionary force was sent into Assam and occupied Manipur. The British fleet trans-

ported another expeditionary force to Rangoon, which they captured. Thereupon the King of Burma ordered his general, Maha Bandula, who was about to invade Bengal, to march southwards and reconquer Rangoon. But his attempt to do so was a failure, and he retreated to Donabew where he was attacked by the English. He was killed by a stray shot, and his soldiers, appalled by the sudden death of their leader, became panic-stricken and fled. Donabew was captured.

The capture of Donabew was followed by that of Prome, and in a skirmish at Pagan 2,000 British troops defeated 18,000 Burmese. Then the King of Burma sued for peace.

Result. The peace treaty was signed at Yendabo in 1826. Arakan, Tenasserim and Assam were annexed, and the King of Burma consented to pay a war indemnity of one million pounds.

2. Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852). Under Dalhousie (1848-1856): *Causes.* After the First Burmese War, the British authorities became convinced that an independent Burma was a danger to British India. At the same time the new Burmese king was not favourably disposed towards the English. British merchants complained of ill-treatment, and when Commodore Lambert was sent to obtain redress for these grievances, he seized a royal vessel, and war broke out.

Leading Events. The British were everywhere victorious. They captured Rangoon, Bassein and Prome, and the Burmese army retreated into Upper Burma.

Result. The whole of Pegu was annexed.

3. Third Anglo-Burmese War (1885). Under Lord Dufferin (1884-1885): *Causes.* After the Second Burmese War, relations between India and Burma remained as strained as they had been before. When King Thee-

baw concluded a commercial alliance with France, and granted French merchants privileges which caused losses to their English rivals, Lord Dufferin declared war against Burma.

Leading Events. The Indian army invaded Upper Burma, and less than a fortnight later captured Mandalay.

Result. Upper Burma was annexed and King Theebaw and his family were deported to India.

QUESTION

What were the causes that led to the three Anglo-Burmese Wars, and what were the results? [1-3]

H. LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-1856)

1. His Achievement. He completed the consolidation of British power in India by his policy of conquest, annexation and lapse, and by his progressive administration.

By conquest is meant the subjugation of a country by force of arms. Annexation meant the deposition of an Indian prince owing to his inability to rule, and the seizure of his country. Lapse meant the annexation of a state by the British in case of its ruler dying without a direct heir. In English law a private estate 'lapses' or becomes the property of the British Government if no heir can be traced. Dalhousie applied this principle to the states of Indian princes, and thus refused to acknowledge their adopted heirs as their successors.

2. Conquests. He fought the Second Sikh War (1848-1849) and added the Punjab to the Company's dominions in India. He also fought the Second Anglo-Burmese War, which ended in the cession of Pegu to the Company.

3. Annexation. The rulers of Oudh paid no heed to the welfare of their subjects, and on several occasions

they had been warned to mend their ways by Wellesley, Minto, Hastings and Hardinge. What had saved them from being deposed was their staunch loyalty to the Company ever since the treaty of Allahabad in 1765. During Lord Dalhousie's term of office the maladministration of King Wajid Ali was worse than that of any of his predecessors. His favourite fiddler was appointed Chief Justice, and the country was practically ruled by the King's chief singer.

Dalhousie, who was a firm believer in the policy of extending British rule, used this state of affairs as a pretext for deposing King Wajid Ali and annexing Oudh.

4. Lapse. Lord Dalhousie did not invent the doctrine of lapse, because it was already a generally accepted principle that an adopted heir could not succeed without the permission of the ruling power. What he did was to apply the doctrine when the opportunity arose. During his administration seven States lapsed: Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara, and four smaller ones.

N.B.—Non-Regulation Provinces. The newly acquired territories became Non-Regulation Provinces, under semi-military rule, where the normal regulations of civil administration did not apply. They were under the direct control of the Governor-General and administered by a Chief Commissioner (who became later on Lieutenant-Governor) and by Deputy Commissioners, whose position was that of a District Collector, and who were entrusted with wide administrative powers—judicial and executive, revenue and police.

5. Progressive Administration. Dalhousie further consolidated British power by contributing to the country's welfare. He encouraged trade and commerce, built metalled roads and railways and set up many thousand miles of telegraph lines. He introduced a cheap and uni-

form rate of postage, and started a Public Works Department and a Department of Public Instruction. He has been called the Maker of Modern India.

QUESTIONS

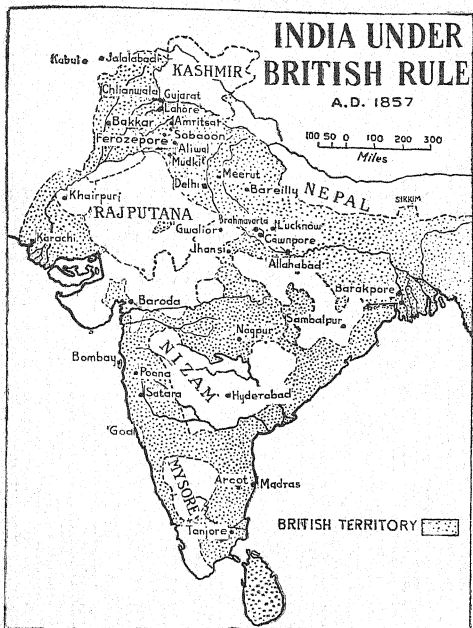
1. What was Lord Dalhousie's great achievement, and how was it realized? [1-5]
2. What is meant by conquest, annexation and lapse; and how did Lord Dalhousie use them? [1-4]
3. Give a brief account of the consolidation of British India from the Marquis of Hastings to Dalhousie.
4. Show that the intervention policy brought about the foundation of British power in India, its establishment and its consolidation.

I. TEMPORARY SET-BACK (1857)

The Rising of 1857. *Causes.* The cause of the Rising of 1857 is a much discussed question. According to some it was merely a military outbreak occasioned by the introduction of cartridges greased with cow's fat, so that the sepoys could not bite the end off the cartridge without losing their caste. Others are of opinion that it was a popular insurrection. Others again hold that it was a real war of independence. The Rising may have been any of these in its character and inspiration, and more likely it was a combination of all three.

One thing is certain; there must have been widespread discontent as a result of the intervention policy, notably the annexation of Sind by Sir Charles Napier, Dalhousie's deposition of the King of Oudh, and his annexation by lapse of Nagpur, Jhansi and Satara. Again, there was the constant grievance of exclusion of the better class of Indians from the Company's service.

Leading Events. Both parties were guilty of excesses. Wholesale massacres were perpetrated by the sepoys, and the British soldiers often took a fearful revenge.



India to the Crown. This was effected by the Government of India Act of 1858, and announced to the princes and people of India by the Queen's Proclamation on November 1st, 1858.

J. THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION (1858)

1. Main Clauses. The following were its main clauses: (a) The Government of India was taken over by the Crown, (b) the Governor-General was given the title of Viceroy, (c) the treaties made by the Company with the Indian princes were to remain in force, (d) all Indians were promised the same rights, their national customs and religious practices were not to be interfered with, appointments to public offices were to be made according to the qualifications of the candidates, and a general pardon and amnesty was promised to all, except to such persons as were found guilty of the murder of British subjects.

2. Comment. The Government of India Act of 1858 and the Queen's Proclamation marked the final stage in the struggle between the Company and the British Government for the administration of India. In this struggle the Company had slowly but steadily been the loser.

In 1773: Lord North's Regulating Act marked the beginning of Parliamentary control. The Act appointed the first Governor-General and his Council, though future appointments were still left to the Board of Directors.

In 1784: Pitt's India Bill deprived the Board of Directors of all political power, which was transferred to the Board of Control of six members appointed by the Crown. Furthermore, all orders, even in commercial matters, given by the Board of Directors required the

sanction of the Board of Control; so that the British Parliament became the practical ruler of India.

In 1813: The Charter Act of 1813 declared the King of England sovereign of the territories of the Company in India.

In 1833: The Charter Act of 1833 deprived the Company of its commercial privileges.

In 1853: The Charter Act of 1853 deprived the Company of the right of patronage, that is, the right to appoint officers.

In 1858: The Government of India Act and the Queen's Proclamation officially swept away the greatest Commercial Company known in the history of the world.

Therefore, the Queen's Proclamation, though it started a new era in the administration of India, signified in reality the culmination of a long struggle. It contained many fair promises, but everything depended on the way in which these promises would be made good, now that India was under the Crown.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes and the results of the Rising of 1857? [I]
2. What were the clauses of the Queen's Proclamation, and to what struggle did it put an end? [J, 1-2]

II. ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND REFORMS

1. THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Preliminary Remark. After the transfer of the Company's territories to the Crown, the Board of Control and the Board of Directors ceased to exist. The British Government took their place and constituted the Home Government, *i.e.*, the Government in England, while the men they sent out to India to administer the country formed the Government in India.

A. THE HOME GOVERNMENT

The Secretary of State. In theory, the Home Government consisted of the King and Parliament; in practice, one of the Cabinet Ministers, the Secretary of State for India, was entrusted with the administration of Indian affairs. A Council of fifteen members was established, whom the Secretary of State had to consult, and without whose consent he could not act in certain matters. But by the Act of 1869 the India Council was deprived of its controlling power, and became virtually a consultative body, whose advice the Secretary of State was not bound to follow. From that time onwards the Secretary of State possessed unlimited authority over the Government in India, but was responsible to the British Parliament.

N.B.—The establishment of the Secretary of State (the Secretary of State, the India Council, the Under-Secretaries and a large staff of officers) became known as the India Office, situated in Whitehall in London.

B. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Before 1858 the Governor-General had been given supreme legislative, financial and administrative powers, and the provincial governors had been made subordinate to him (Act of 1833). The same system of government remained in force after 1858.

1. The Viceroy. With the transfer of the Company's territories to the Crown, the Governor-General received the title of Viceroy, and continued to be entrusted with the supreme legislative and executive and administrative power, *i.e.*, the power of making laws and of compelling their observance, and of administering the country.

In the exercise of these powers the Viceroy also continued to be advised and assisted by a Council, as was already the practice prior to 1858. India was, therefore,

governed by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Viceroy and his Executive, consisting of the Governor-General, four members and the Commander-in-Chief, exercised all executive powers. The Governor, his Executive and six additional members exercised all legislative powers.

N.B.—The Viceroy was subordinate to the Secretary of State; but before the establishment of a direct telegraph line between England and India in 1870, the delay in communications made it difficult for the Viceroy to consult the Secretary of State; the latter was merely informed of the measures already taken. The Viceroy was in those days practically independent of the Secretary of State; it was only after 1870 that he became more dependent on him.

2. Central and Provincial Governments. *Origin.*

After 1858 it was soon realized that it was practically impossible for the Governor-General-in-Council effectively to administer the whole country, which was already divided into Provinces. The British territories were too vast and the Governor-General-in-Council had too many other departments to look after, such as education, irrigation, posts and telegraphs, railways, public works, and so on. Accordingly, certain functions were delegated to the Provinces. Thus arose the division of departments between the Central and Provincial Governments. The granting of functions by the authorities at the Centre to the Provinces is called *Decentralization*.

3. Principle of Decentralization.

The Central Government remained in charge of those subjects that were of all-India importance: defence, foreign affairs, currency, railways, posts and telegraphs, customs and income-tax. The Provincial Governments were entrusted with the management of departments of local

importance: land revenue, law and order, police and jails, local education, and so on.

4. The Indian States. (a) *Suzerainty.* By the Act of 1858 the Indian States which had entered into alliances with the Company came directly under the Crown as regards their external sovereignty. They could not make alliances with foreign powers, nor could they establish independent armies. But their internal sovereignty was left intact, and Parliament could not control their internal administration: the Crown could claim suzerainty or nominal sovereignty, better known in India as Paramountcy.

(b) *Paramountcy.* In practice the Viceroy, on behalf of the Crown, claimed the right to interfere in the internal administration of the Indian States in the interests of justice, law and order, and also, at times, when it suited their own political purpose. This interference was made on the strength of paramountcy. It was often justified and even necessary, but at times it was altogether indefensible. However, in the latter cases it met with the approval of those Indian nationalist politicians who were opposed to the autocratic government of the rulers of Indian States.

5. The Public Services. (a) *Preliminary Remark.* Besides the Viceroy, the Provincial Governors and their respective Councils, many other officials were entrusted with important administrative work in various departments. For example, the Collector was in charge of a District, he looked after the revenue and was also a District Magistrate. Other important posts in the District were held by the District Judge, the Police Superintendent, the District Medical Officer, the District Engineer, and many more besides. All these officers were controlled by the Provincial Secretariat, and they

all belonged to the Public Services, an important part of the system of administration.

(b) *Definition.* The various departments of administration are conducted in the service of the public. Therefore, the bodies responsible for the working of those departments came to be called the Public Services. From the beginning a distinction was made between the Superior Public Services and the Subordinate Public Services; the members of the former held important offices, the members of the latter were not entrusted with responsible posts. The Subordinate Public Services were open to those Indians who were ready to serve as clerks and inferior assistants; the Superior Public Services were open to the British only.

(c) *The Exclusion of Indians.* The exclusion of Indians was partly due to established customs; it dated back to the days of the Company. This exclusion was also due to prejudice. The management of the various departments of administration was considered by the British as their own preserve, *i.e.*, as specially set apart for them. Finally, this exclusion was due to the fact that Indians lacked the necessary qualifications for entering the Public Services. The European officials who belonged to the Public Services were highly efficient men, whatever else may be said against them.

(d) *Their Indianization.* The Indianization of the Public Services was beset with many practical difficulties.

In the open competitive examination for the Public Services Indians as a rule were not successful. They had to go to England for the examination and went there poorly and hurriedly prepared for it, as the maximum age-limit was lowered from twenty-three to twenty-one and afterwards to nineteen.

From 1879 to 1886 a certain number of young Indians

were yearly chosen for higher offices, without passing any examination. They were called Statutory Civil Servants. This system gave rise to favouritism and was suppressed in 1886. Instead, the Public Services Commission of 1886 divided the Public Services into Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate Services. The Imperial Public Service, henceforth known as the Indian Civil Service, was mainly filled with British. The Provincial Public Service provided a number of important posts in the various branches of provincial administration; it was almost exclusively manned by Indians. The members of the Subordinate Service, either central or provincial, were also mostly Indians.

Indians were anxious to enter the Imperial Services, but it was not till 1917 that their demands were conceded. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report approved the recommendations of the Islington Commission of 1912. In future all racial distinctions in the matter of appointments were to be suppressed; arrangements for recruiting the members of the Civil Service were to be made in India; 33 per cent of the superior posts were to be held by Indians.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the Home Government and the Government in India? Who was the most important person in the Home Government, and in the Government in India? [A, B, 1]
2. How did the Central and the Provincial Governments come into existence? What is meant by Decentralization, and how was the principle applied? [B, 2-3]
3. What was the position of the Indian States after 1858? Distinguish between suzerainty and paramountcy. [B, 4]
4. Write a note on the Public Services: definition, the exclusion of Indians from them, their Indianization. [B, 5(a)-(b)]

II. POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS (1858-1921)

Their Object. These reforms resulted in giving Indians an ever-increasing share in the administration of their country. This object was attained in three different ways; as the result of decentralization, Indianization, and representative government.

Decentralization was the delegation of functions to the Provinces and the consequent improvement in the administration of the country. It also resulted in the creation of important posts, so that Indians stood a better chance of securing Government appointments. Indianization was the appointment of Indians to responsible Government posts. Representative Government entitled the people to choose their own members to sit in the Legislative Councils and thus to share in the making of the laws.

N.B.—Not all the Viceroys introduced administrative reforms, but for the sake of completeness they are all mentioned here; those who did not bring about any administrative changes, briefly; the others in more detail.

1. Lord Canning (1858-1862). (a) *Policy of Goodwill.* The first Viceroy began by restoring peace and confidence in British India. Those Europeans who had wished to punish the Indians like criminals for the Rising were not allowed to do so. On the contrary, the Indians were repeatedly assured that the promises contained in the Queen's Proclamation would be faithfully kept. The Indian princes were won over by being once more granted the privilege of adopting a successor, and the doctrine of lapse came to an end; a feudatory prince was preferable to an annexed State.

(b) *Policy Fulfilled.* Lord Canning was a man of deeds as well as words. *Decentralization:* The Indian Councils Act of 1861 restored to Madras and Bombay the legislative powers of which they had been deprived in

1833. Provincial Legislative Councils were established in Bombay and Madras and also in the other Provinces. On that occasion the British rulers said: 'Let us see what a few Indians of our choosing have to say about our laws'; and a few Indians were admitted into the Legislative Councils for the express purpose of voicing Indian opinion. They were not elected but nominated. By their nomination the first seeds of representative institutions were sown. The rigid exclusion of all Indians from responsible posts was no longer an unalterable law. This was the first step towards Indianization and Representative Legislatures.

Reforms. Furthermore, Lord Canning introduced military, financial, judicial and educational reforms. He reorganized the army, and, with a view to preventing another military rising, increased the proportion of European troops. He called in experts to restore order in the financial confusion caused by the Rising of 1857. The Indian Penal Code, originally framed by Macaulay, was officially adopted, and High Courts were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta by the High Court Act of 1861. The Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, established in 1857 and reduced to inactivity during the Rising, were revived.

2. Lord Elgin (1862-1863). His administration was uneventful except for the Sitana expedition against the hill tribes north of Peshawar.

3. Sir John Lawrence (1863-1869). He defeated the Bhutanese, a hill tribe on the northern frontier of Bengal. He was also bent on winning the goodwill of the Indians. He tried to make England pay the expenses of the war with Abyssinia but failed in his attempt. He refused to interfere in the dissensions in Afghanistan, and thereby saved India the expenses of another war

with that country. When a great financial deficit made an income-tax necessary, he imposed it on Europeans and Indians alike, in spite of the protests of the European community who were of opinion that the Indians alone should be taxed. He did his best to give relief to famine-stricken Orissa.

4. Lord Mayo (1869-1872). Lord Mayo was the next great reformer after Lord Canning. (a) *Financial Reforms.* He was sent out to perform the unpopular task of putting the financial department on a firm footing. Accordingly, he increased the salt duties and the income-tax, measures which raised strong protests at the time. He also brought under his own personal control the Public Works Department, which was notorious for its wasteful expenditure. To increase the resources of the State, he started a Department of Agriculture and Commerce and the System of State Railways. The result was that for several years financial surpluses could be shown in the Budget.

(b) *Decentralization Measures.* Much more important than his financial reforms were his decentralization measures. Up to his time the Provincial Governments' expenditures were rigidly controlled by the Central Government. In 1870 this control was relaxed, and certain heads of expenditure were made over to the Provinces, such as police, jails, education and the medical services. The Provinces became entitled to spend as they liked the lump sum annually granted to them by the Central Government, subject to revision only once in five years. This freedom from interference by the Central Government made the Provinces take a greater interest in their own affairs, and it prepared the way for provincial independence.

(c) *Indian States.* Finally, Lord Mayo entertained

cordial relations with the Indian Princes and established on their behalf the Mayo College for the education of the sons of princes and of noble families. At the same time he was one of the first to assert British paramountcy by interfering in the internal administration of Alwar, and took measures to stop the misgovernment in that State.

His administration was brought to an untimely end. When visiting the Andaman Islands, he was murdered by an Afghan convict.

5. Lord Northbrook (1872-1876). Like his predecessor, Lord Northbrook claimed the right to interfere in the internal administration of the Indian States, and deposed the Gaikwad of Baroda. This was a major step in the assertion of paramountcy.

6. Lord Lytton (1876-1880). During Lord Lytton's term of office Surendranath Banerjea started the Indian Association of Calcutta and the Civil Service Agitation, which will be dealt with afterwards. (*See VI, II, A.*)

The Civil Service Agitation was followed by similar agitations against the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act, by which Lord Lytton sought to limit the possession of arms and to control the Indian newspapers. On this account his administration, the Second Afghan War included, has been severely criticized as a long series of blunders.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that his First Famine Commission (1878-1880) is deserving of high praise as an administrative measure. The Commission laid down useful recommendations which were afterwards adopted: the able-bodied should be given work and wages; only the helpless poor should be given relief. One and a half crores of rupees should be set apart annually in the Budget for famine relief and protection works, such

as railways and canals, with special reference to the regions liable to be affected by drought and famine. The Famine Code came into existence in 1883, but it was in the first instance due to Lord Lytton.

Furthermore, the famine policy was productive of several financial reforms introduced during his administration, such as the suppression of protective duties and the beginning of free trade, the reduction of the salt-tax and a further transfer of financial administration from the Central Government to the Provinces.

7. Lord Ripon (1880-1884). He ranks among the great administrative reformers. (a) *Financial Reforms.* He continued to carry out his predecessor's programme: the Famine Code, the favouring of free trade, the suppression of protective duties, the reduction of the salt-tax.

(b) *Decentralization.* Lord Ripon, instead of giving the Provinces a lump sum of money annually, entrusted them with the administration of certain sources of revenue. In 1882 the Government's sources of revenue were divided into three classes of earning departments: central, provincial and divided, the last mentioned being shared by the Centre and the Provinces. Ripon's financial scheme was to be revised every five years.

This financial decentralization gave greater administrative freedom to the Provinces, who had of course to devote great attention to the earning departments with which they were entrusted.

(c) *Local Self-Government. Municipalities.* Municipal institutions, entrusted with the government of towns, existed long before Lord Ripon, notably in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, but he increased the powers of municipal bodies, their resources and their responsibilities.

Local Boards. Local Committees had been started during Lord Mayo's time to administer local funds. During Lord Ripon's time these Local Committees were replaced by Local Boards all over India. These Boards dealt with rural areas in the same way as municipalities dealt with the affairs of the towns. They may be described as an extension of the municipality to the rural districts.

There were two classes of Local Boards, the Sub-district and the District Boards. The former looked after the interests of the *talukas* and sent delegates to the District Board, which took measures common to all the *talukas* in the District.

(d) *Popularity.* By means of these Local Boards many Indians obtained a share in the work of local administration, and Lord Ripon's popularity became country-wide. It was further increased by the suppression of the Vernacular Press Act, and by his attempt (though it ended in failure) to pass the Ilbert Bill, intended to do away with the privilege enjoyed by Europeans of being tried by magistrates of their own race. He also gained the goodwill of the Indian princes by restoring Mysore to its former position as a Feudatory State.

8. Lord Dufferin (1884-1888). He fought the Third Burmese War and annexed the whole of Upper Burma.

9. Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894). During his viceroyalty Indians obtained a greater share in the administration of their country than was given them by Lord Canning. The British rulers now said: 'Let us see what a few Indians chosen by the Indians themselves have to say about our laws'. Accordingly, by the Indian Councils Act of 1882 the various Legislative Councils were enlarged. Chambers of Commerce, universities, municipalities and a few large landowners were given the

right to recommend their own representatives for nomination to the Councils. From that time onwards the Councils were allowed to criticize the financial and administrative policy of Government.

10. Lord Elgin (1894-1899). During his term of office no important administrative reform took place. He had to suppress a local disturbance in Chitral.

11. Lord Curzon (1899-1905). Though he was every inch an Imperialist, Lord Curzon ranks among the great Indian administrators and introduced many reforms.

(a) *The Imperialist.* Lord Curzon consolidated British power in India by the Frontier Policy. (See Section, I, II, D, p. 236.) The mountainous areas between Afghanistan and British India were held by a tribal militia, with the British forces stationed in the rear. The North-Western Province was established to serve as a buffer state between Afghanistan and British India. Friendly relations were entertained with Afghanistan; the Amir's independence was recognized, he was granted the title of King, and he would continue to receive the yearly subsidy first given by Lord Lansdowne. Russian expansion in Asia had to be stopped at any cost.

Next, when British control over the Persian Gulf was threatened by the diplomatic activities of France, Russia, Germany and Turkey, a naval expedition was sent to those parts in 1899. Again, when the Dalai Lama of Tibet was about to form an alliance with Russia, a British force marched into Tibet in March 1904. Five months later, in August, the Treaty of Lhasa recognized British control over the foreign policy of Tibet. Finally, Curzon was a staunch upholder of paramountcy and took an active interest in the improvement of the Indian States.

There is no questioning Lord Curzon's imperialism; he never conceived the possibility of India's severing

her connections with England and becoming free and independent less than fifty years after his term of office.

(b) *Curzon's Reforms.* These reforms may be classified as follows: agrarian, educational, industrial and purely administrative.

Agrarian. (i) The Famine Commission (1901) laid down practical rules for lessening the sufferings of the people by assisting them as soon as a famine threatened and before it could spread over the country. (ii) The Land Alienation Act (1900) provided against the eviction of the peasants by heartless money-lenders. (iii) The Co-operative Credit Societies Act (1904) was likewise directed against the money-lenders and aimed at preventing agricultural indebtedness.

Educational. (i) The Indian Universities Act (1904) remedied existing defects and strengthened Government's control over the Universities. (ii) The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904) aimed at preserving the relics of India's past, gave rise to extensive research work, and was responsible for the excavations started at Mohenjo-Daro and elsewhere.

Industrial. A Department of Commerce and Industry (1906) was set up, and Jamshedji Tata's schemes were encouraged. This was the beginning of India's industrial regeneration, which a little later (1910-1911) resulted in the establishment of a Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company, an Iron and Steel Company and an Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore.

Administration. Lord Curzon re-adjusted the financial relations between the Centre and the Provinces on a permanent basis; he re-organized the Public Services; he reformed the Police System; he introduced far-reaching land revenue reforms; he ordered the partition of Bengal.

(c) *Unpopularity and Resignation.* Though it cannot

be denied that many of these reforms greatly benefited India, Lord Curzon was not at all popular. The partition of Bengal caused widespread agitation. In 1905 Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief in India, was bent on securing the supreme control of the army, and objected to being overruled by the Military Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He carried his point, and Lord Curzon resigned.

12. Lord Minto (1905-1910). (a) *Political Unrest.* History repeats itself. Dalhousie's policy of conquest, annexation and lapse was followed by the Rising of 1857; and Lord Curzon's vigorous administrative policy likewise caused a grave political crisis. There was discontent, anarchy, and bomb-throwing. Secret societies were started, and the newspapers criticised Government most bitterly.

(b) *Repressive Measures.* To restore peace in the country Lord Minto revived an old Act of 1818 by which political agitators could be deported without giving the reason for it; he passed the Explosives Act, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The last Act submitted certain crimes to a private inquiry; the accused was tried by three judges of the High Court without a jury.

(c) *Conciliatory Measures.* *Morley-Minto Reforms.* The Indian Councils Act of 1909 not only gave Indians a greater share in the administration of their country, but also established once for all the principle of elective representation.

The Imperial Legislative Council was enlarged, and now consisted of sixty members, of whom twenty-seven were to be elected. Similarly, the Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged to a maximum of fifty members, and Government faced the risk of abandoning the official

majority in the Provincial Councils, *i.e.*, the greater number of their members were not nominated but elected. Whilst the Imperial Executive Council remained unchanged, the membership of the Provincial Executive Council in Madras and Bombay was raised from two to four.

Apart from this, at the instance of Lord Morley, then Secretary of State, Indians were for the first time appointed members of the Central and Provincial Executive Councils and of the India Council of the Secretary of State: one at the Centre, one at Bombay, one at Madras, and two at Whitehall.

13. Lord Hardinge (1910-1916). During his term of office India continued to be in a state of unrest, and the First World War broke out. He pursued a conciliatory policy. The partition of Bengal was repealed in 1911; Bengal was again raised to the status of a Presidency in 1912; and the capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. Three new Provinces were created: Bihar and Orissa under Lieutenant-Governors, and Assam under a Chief Commissioner. An Indian became the Member for Education in the Imperial Executive Council. The Indian High Courts Act of 1911 raised the number of judges in a High Court, and provided for the establishment of new High Courts at Patna, Lahore and Rangoon. A Decentralization Commission was appointed, and the division of the sources of revenue was firmly revised and made permanent.

14. Lord Chelmsford (1916-1921). The situation in India was almost beyond control; unrest and discontent now showed themselves by an open defiance of the law. Lord Chelmsford tried to restore peace by repressive and conciliatory measures.

(a) *Repressive Measures. The Rowlatt Act.* During

the First World War (1914-1918) those who engaged in political agitation were dealt with under the Defence Act of India. When this Act expired, six months after peace had been concluded, it was replaced by the Rowlatt Act, so called after Sir Sydney Rowlatt, the President of the Committee whose resolutions were adopted by Government. The Rowlatt Act set up extraordinary tribunals to try anarchical and revolutionary offenders, and caused widespread discontent.

(b) *Conciliatory Measures.* (i) *The Promise of 1917.* The British Government could not ignore the whole-hearted co-operation of India during the First World War. Moreover, as it was said to be a war to save democracy, Government was forced to take into account the spirit of nationalism and the demand for liberty in India. Accordingly, in 1917 Government promised to give Indians an increasing share in the administration of their country and, later on, self-government.

(ii) *The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.* A first step towards the fulfilment of the promise of 1917 was the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, also known as the Montford Report. It proposed important changes: *At the Centre.* (a) A slight relaxation of the control over India by Parliament and the Secretary of State; (b) an increase of the Indian members in the Imperial Executive Council; (c) the division of the Imperial Legislative Council into two Houses: an Upper House or Council of State of 60 members, a Lower House or Legislative Assembly of 144 members—in both Houses many of the members to be elected. *In the Provinces.* (a) The Provincial Legislative Councils were to be enlarged and to consist of a majority of elected, non-appointed members. (b) The Provincial Executive was to be divided into two sections: the Governor and his Executive Council, entrusted with the reserved subjects,

and the Indian Ministers entrusted with the transferred subjects: the number of transferred subjects was to be gradually increased till complete provincial self-government was secured. This division became known as Dyarchy (Double Government). *The Indian States*. The Report proposed the establishment of a Chamber of Indian Princes as a permanent consultative body meeting once a year with the Viceroy to discuss matters affecting relations between the States and either the Empire or British India.

(iii) *The Government of India Act of 1919*. The second step towards the fulfilment of the promise of 1917 was the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 which included the main proposals contained in the Montford Report.

(iv) *Local Self-Government*. The third step was a further advance in local self-government. A Resolution was issued by Lord Chelmsford in 1918, the main object of which was to train people in political responsibility. Accordingly, elected majorities were established in all Local Boards and Municipalities; the establishment of *panchayats* was encouraged, and the franchise extended to all taxpayers. In 1921 local self-government was made a transferred subject and entrusted to the Indian Ministers.

N.B.—The administrative reforms under the remaining Viceroys will be dealt with in VI. *The Struggle for Freedom*, p. 309.

QUESTIONS

1. What was Lord Canning's policy of goodwill, and how was it fulfilled? [1]
2. Show that Lord Mayo prepared the way for different forms of local self-government. [4]
3. Why was Lord Lytton one of the most unpopular Viceroys? [6]
4. Why was Lord Ripon one of the most popular Viceroys? [7]

5. What great change took place during the administration of Lord Lansdowne? [9]
6. Show that Lord Curzon was an imperialist and a great administrator. [11]
7. What were the difficulties with which Lord Minto was faced, and how did he try to restore peace in the country? [12]
8. What was Lord Chelmsford's policy to restore peace in India? [14]
9. Write notes on: The Indian Councils Act of 1861. [1(b)]. The Indian Councils Act of 1892. [9] The Indian Councils Act of 1902. [12(c)]
10. Write notes on the Morley-Minto Reforms [12(c)], on the Promise of 1917 [14(b) (i)], on the Montagu-Chelmsford or Montford Reforms. [14(b) (ii), (iii)]

III. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE MACHINE AGE

General Notions. (a) *Industrial Countries.* An industrial country specializes in the mass production of all sorts of goods with the help of machinery. Thus, the goods are not made by individuals in their homes, but by a great number of men working together in vast workshops called factories: cotton-mills, iron-works, potteries, etc. The articles manufactured on a large scale are bought partly by the people of the country, but mostly by people in other countries. This foreign trade is a great source of national wealth.

(b) *Agricultural Countries.* In an agricultural country the chief occupation of the inhabitants is the cultivation of the fields. Such a country is India, which has always been a land of peasants and farmers. This does not mean that there were no skilled workmen in India engaged in the manufacture of goods. But these workers were not employed in mass production on industrial lines with the help of machinery.

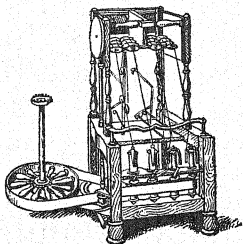
(c) *India's Industrial Awakening.* Though India is still an agricultural country, it has during the last hundred years (1850-1950) developed great industrial acti-

vities. An account will here be given of the causes of this industrial growth, and of the growth itself.

I. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

1. In England. (a) *Meaning.* In England the phrase *Industrial Revolution* has an historical meaning. It stands for the great change which took place in that country between the years 1760 and 1830, when England ceased to be an agricultural and became an industrial country.

(b) *Causes of the Change.* This change was brought about by several scientific inventions: Hargreaves'

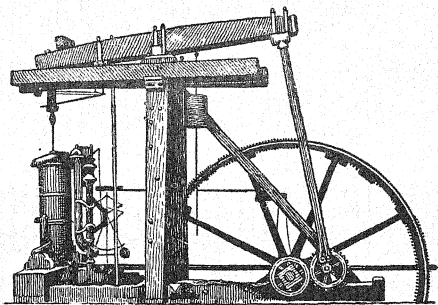


ARKWRIGHT'S ROLLER-SPINNER

spinning-jenny (the use of many spindles in cotton-spinning) in 1767, Watt's improved steam-engine in 1769, Arkwright's roller-spinner (an improved spinning-jenny) in 1785, and the gradual application of steam-power for different purposes. These inventions could be made use of, because the coal-mines provided cheap fuel, while

certain raw materials (iron, copper, lead, tin) were found on the spot, and others could be easily procured because of the easy means of transport over long distances.

(c) *Results.* The result was the factory system. Goods were no longer produced at home and by the family, with simple tools; they were made by a large number of people working together in one vast building with the aid of machinery. Before long, England became the Workshop of the World, and, in due course, the world's money market, and the world's carrier.



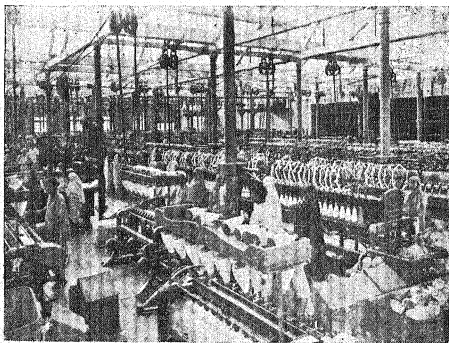
WATT'S STEAM ENGINE

2. **Elsewhere.** England was for a time the greatest industrial nation in the West, without a serious competitor. But little by little this absolute industrial control came to an end with the rise of similar industrial activities in other countries like Germany, France and Belgium. The industrial awakening in India only began after 1850.

II. INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING

1. **Before 1850.** The British rulers of India were not anxious to start industrial mass production in India; they looked upon India as a market for English goods. With the improvement of the means of communication and transport more and more English goods were imported. They flooded the Indian market and took the place of the hand-made goods of the Indian workmen, because they were sold at a lower price. The result was that the cloth-weaving industry in India was steadily declining.

2. After 1850. The first step towards India's material progress was not the erection of industrial works: it was the organization of cotton cultivation for export purposes. During the American Civil War (1851-1856) all supplies of American cotton were cut off, and this caused a cotton famine in Lancashire. In India the price of cotton went up, and its cultivation and export rapidly increased. Roads and railways were built to facilitate the transport and export of cotton. The persistent demand for Indian cotton had important results. It ended the isolation and self-centred life of the Indian villages. The villages no longer grew cotton for their own use only; they were made aware of the advantages of trading with others and grew more cotton than they had done before. In this manner the idea began to spread throughout the country that much more could be achieved by combining forces with others than by individual efforts.

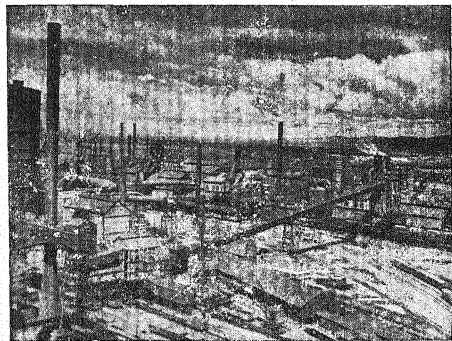


A COTTON MILL

III. INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

India's industrial development was an uphill task and a slow process. It was not enough to import the necessary machines and to have the raw materials; the workers had to be taught and trained, and many of them were slow learners. However, in course of time, and more rapidly than had been expected, great industrial works were set up in India. The major industries gradually established were: Iron and Steel Works, the Textile Industry and Hydro-Electric Power.

1. Iron and Steel Works. *The Tata Iron and Steel Company.* The real founder of the Steel and Iron Industry in India was Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata. He undertook extensive prospecting and survey work in Bengal and Bihar, and with the help of American and European experts discovered the Gurumaishini iron



IRON AND STEEL WORKS, JAMSHEDPUR

deposits. After his death in 1904, his sons founded the Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited, which began to produce iron in 1911 and steel in 1914.

The Company owns its own ore mines, quarries and collieries. Where forty years ago there was little more than a desert, there now stands the town of Jamshedpur, providing all municipal services and a fully equipped hospital for its population of about 200,000. During the Second World War the annual production of Jamshedpur exceeded a million tons of iron, and a million tons of steel ingots.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Jamshedpur is Tatanagar, the seat of the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company, established in 1945. It is fast expanding into a modern locomotive factory, and will eventually produce 100 locomotives, and as many spare boilers, per year.

2. Textile Industry. (a) *Cotton.* (i) *Bombay.* Attempts to establish cotton-mills before the railway era were a failure owing to the high cost of transport. The first successful mill was erected in Bombay by Cowasji Nanabhoy Davar in 1854. For a number of years the new industry was in a sad plight owing to the high price of raw cotton, due to the American Civil War. It was only after 1885 that it began to expand rapidly. During the next five years (1885-1890) 50 new mills were opened. (ii) *Elsewhere.* The industry spread to other towns of India: Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Sholapur and many other places, and today there are 422 cotton-mills in India and Pakistan; but seventy per cent of the total Indian mills' output comes from the Bombay Province.

In our own days the industry has reached such a state that India would be almost self-sufficient in the matter of cloth but for the partition of former British India into

India and Pakistan. There is plenty of raw cotton in Sind of Pakistan, but for the present it is not available for the Indian mills.

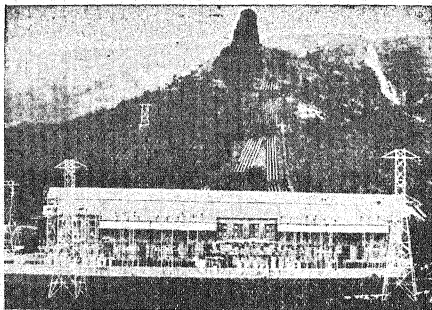
(b) *Jute*. The first jute-mill was opened at Serampore in 1859. This was a spinning mill. The first powerloom for working thread into cloth was established shortly afterwards at Barnagore. Later on, jute-mills were erected in many other places, and there are today 113 jute-mills in and around Calcutta, for the industry is highly localized.

The industry prospered enormously during the 1914-1918 war when there was a great demand for gunny bags. Then followed the lean years of depression when the mills worked only four days a week. During the Second World War (1939-1945) the industry once more made huge profits, but it has now fallen on evil days. Almost all the raw jute is produced in East Bengal, while the jute-mills are in West Bengal. Raw jute and jute-mills are near each other physically, yet far apart politically.

3. Hydro-Electric Power. (a) *Hidden Treasure*.

India possesses vast and hitherto untapped water resources, to which attention was first called in the Meares Report of 1921, when India's water power was estimated at from 3.5 to 8 million K.W. (*i.e.*, kilowatts, an electrical unit equal to 1,000 watts). This estimate was greatly under the mark, and it is now accepted that the power obtainable from the different rivers in India amounts to from 35 to 40 millions K.W. Of this vast amount 1.5 per cent is at present available.

The difficulty of starting water-power schemes consists in procuring a continuous flow of water during the dry season. Water has to be stored in enormous quantities, and this involves the choice of a proper site and the



HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS, KHAPOLI

construction of huge dams to contain the water within the chosen area. Once this is done, there is an abundant supply of cheap hydro-electric power, *i.e.*, electric power produced by water.

(b) *India's Water Resources.* The whole of India has a share in them: (1) the Punjab (the Five Rivers system), (2) India north of the Ganges (the western and the eastern Ganges system), (3) Northern Assam (the Brahmaputra system), (4) Eastern Bihar and Western Bengal (the Bhagirathi system), (5) Orissa (the Mahanadi), (6) Southern India (the Godavari, the Kistna and the Cauvery), (7) Central India (the Tapti and the Narbada), and (8) Malwa (the river system of the Chambal).

(c) *Hydro-Electric Development.* This started with the Municipal Town Lighting Plant at Darjeeling (1887-1898)—hydro-electric power in its infancy. Great instal-

lations have been erected since; for example, the Tata's Hydro-Electric Power Works, the Andhra Valley Supply Company (Tata's) and the Tata Power Company. The most important State-managed installations are the Hydro-Electric Pykara Scheme in Madras, the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme in the East Punjab, and the Ganga Hydro-Electric Grid in the United Provinces. There are also a number of projected schemes which will in course of time be realized.

N.B.—In addition, many other industrial enterprises have been started. Among them are paper, flour, rice, oil and saw-mills; rope, leather, stone, cement and metal works; sugar, tobacco, tea, tile and brick factories; printing presses, and many other kinds of workshops.

IV. CAUSES OF INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Hydro-Electric Power. Among the many causes which have contributed to India's industrial success hydro-electric power stands first and foremost; it has supplied cheap motive power. Unlike England, India could not have started great industrial works with the help of steam-driven machines. India's coal supplies are chiefly centred in Bengal and Chota Nagpur, and the cost of transport over long distances would have made industrial works impossible elsewhere. Hydro-electric power has saved the situation.

2. Means of Communication. The rapid growth of the means of communication has also helped to spread industry by facilitating trade in the country and overseas.

Railways. In 1872 there were 5,369 miles of railway line. In the space of 80 years the total mileage has increased almost eightfold, and there are now over 40,000 miles of railway line in India.

Roads. Four great trunk roads have been in

existence for a long time: the Grand Trunk Road running from the Khyber to Calcutta, and three others connecting Calcutta with Madras, Madras with Bombay, Bombay with Delhi; the four of them together covering about 5,000 miles. The road mileage has increased more than sixty-fold, and the total mileage of extra-municipal roads is now well over 300,000 miles. Of these roads more than sixty-six per cent are motorable throughout the year, and the remaining thirty-three per cent in fair weather.

Waterways. In former days inland navigation was largely used for the transport of passengers and of goods. Nowadays the river traffic has become insignificant except in Bengal. The water-borne traffic of Calcutta amounts even now to 450,000 tons yearly, of which thirty-four per cent is carried by inland steamers and sixty-six per cent by country boats. As many as 10,400,000 passengers travelled by steamer in 1945 in East and West Bengal.

Ports. Bombay and Calcutta are nowadays international harbours; there are also a number of other ports: Madras, Karachi, Cochin, Vizagapatam, etc. Their industrial importance is obvious. To give but one example, the cargo handled in Bombay harbour in 1947-8 amounted to 4,683,000 tons of imported goods and 1,687,000 tons of exported goods.

3. The Swadeshi Movement. This, too, promoted Indian industries. As defined by Mahatma Gandhi: 'Swadeshi is that spirit within us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings, to the exclusion of the more remote'. In practice it came to mean: 'Boycott foreign goods and spread the use of Indian products'.

The movement was started in Bengal in 1905 under the leadership of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, as a pro-

test against Lord Curzon's partition of that Province. It spread rapidly all over India, and made itself felt for many years. For example, in the Delhi Pact of 1931 between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi it was stipulated that Civil Disobedience should be discontinued, but that peaceful picketing for *swadeshi* purposes would be allowed.

It is also a fact that from 1905 to 1931 the number of cotton-mills increased from 197 to 390, but it is difficult to say to what extent this was due to the Swadeshi Movement. One thing is certain, that the movement strongly appealed to the national sentiment, and it played an important part in the various agitations which took place in the country during those years. It is also beyond all doubt that it greatly encouraged and promoted many industrial activities in India.

4. Japan's Industrial Activities. Finally, events in Japan had an influence over India. Japan became a great industrial country about the year 1900. Most of the industries were at first started by Government and afterwards handed over to private companies; and this partly explains the rapid progress that was made. During the First World War, when Indian industries had not yet greatly developed and were mainly used to produce war supplies, all western imports were cut off, and Japan captured the Indian market. Japan's industrial progress served as an example to Indian manufacturers, and also as a warning. In 1932 the Government had to extend protection to the Indian cotton industry in order to prevent Japan from flooding the Indian market with Japanese cloth. Japan remained a keen competitor for the Indian market till she entered the Second World War, and was defeated by the United Nations. Her defeat meant a total, if temporary, industrial collapse.

V. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN INDIA

1. The Beginnings. India's industrial development gave rise to labour organization. This movement is of recent growth, and it was brought about by the following circumstances; the general national awakening during the First World War, the various manifestations of unrest in the country, and low wages with a constantly rising cost of living. The workers, imitating those of other countries, joined forces to improve their position. The first Trade Union was established in Madras in 1918, next came the turn of Bombay; and from 1919 to 1921 the movement rapidly expanded elsewhere.

2. Rapid Development. The most important step in the Indian Trade Union Movement was the Trade Union Act of 1926, mainly due to the persistent efforts of Mr. N. M. Joshi. Under the Act the registration of Trade Unions is voluntary, but provides many advantages. Registered Unions are immune from criminal prosecution when acting in legitimate pursuit of their aims. Six years later there were as many as 131 Registered Unions with a membership of over two lakhs.

3. Great Organizations of Trade Unions. (a) In 1920 the All-India Trade Union Congress (which had nothing to do with the Indian National Congress) was founded in order to direct the activities of all the labour units in India. (b) In 1929 the moderates seceded from it, so that there were then two great central organizations, the original Congress of 1920 under Communist control, and the new Indian Trades Union Federation with Socialist tendencies. (c) In 1931 a third Trade Union Federation was established in Bombay, but it did not long remain an independent body. In 1933 it joined the Federation of 1929 and turned Socialist. (d) Finally, influential

members of the Indian National Congress founded the All-India National Trade Union Congress.

The three surviving central organizations are, the one Communist, the other Socialist and the third Congressite.

Comment: The Indian Trade Unions are still far behind similar organizations in Europe and America. They labour under great disadvantages: their members are mostly illiterate, and are always moving from one place to another; they are reluctant to pay their subscriptions and do not readily submit to discipline.

VI. COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

1. In Former Days. The term 'cottage industries' is used in connection with the making of goods in the home, with simple tools, yet often with great skill and even with high artistic finish. In pre-British days many people in India made their living in this way. India was then famous for its cotton-weavers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, carvers in wood and ivory, makers of earthenware, copper vessels and iron utensils, and many other skilled workmen, every one of them in his own craft, which often was a family profession handed down from father to son. The Industrial Revolution in the West dealt a severe blow to these cottage industries, when the Indian market became flooded with factory-made western goods, sold at a cheaper price than the hand-made products of skilled workmen.

2. Nowadays. The term is still used in connection with home-made goods, not as a means of making a living, but as a useful occupation during the farmer's spare time when there is no work for him in the fields and his earnings come likewise to a stop.

3. Growth of Cottage Industries. This growth is of recent date. (a) In 1931 the Central Banking Inquiry

Committee recommended that the Provincial Governments should devote their earnest attention to the development of these industries. (b) But of far greater importance was Mahatma Gandhi's example, when he started his campaign to put an end to village unemployment chiefly by the *Charka*. For this purpose he founded the All-India Spinning and Villages Associations. Such was his influence that many well-known Congressmen took up working with the *Charka*. Due to Mahatma Gandhi's exertions cloth was being made and sold in 5,000 villages by 1934, and 15,000 by 1940; but there are 700,000 villages in India. (c) Meanwhile both the Congress and the Government were moving in the matter. The Congress budget of 1937 provided a grant to encourage the making of hand-spun cloth, and the Government of India set apart 5 lakhs per year for the development of hand-loom industries.

4. Difficulties. The establishment of these cottage industries is an uphill task. The farmers have to be trained and must be supplied with raw materials of good quality at a low price. Better goods and improved machines are needed, and technical advice as to their working and maintenance. Licensed warehouses must be established to store and sell the manufactured goods; and above all, the main aim of the social workers must be, not to enrich themselves, but to promote the welfare of the villages.

5. Latest Developments. In industrial centres enterprising merchants have started to supply the workers with raw materials and with machines to make goods of a certain type at home, not only woollen goods but many others; for the cottage industry has a wide field of occupational pursuits. There are industries dealing with wool, silk, metal, wood, leather, paper, etc.

However, this latest move should not be confined to the workers who live in towns and cities; the cottage industries should spread to more and more villages.

IV. THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST

Preliminary Remarks: In the Second Section of this Period, *Administrative System and Reforms*, it was shown that from the year 1858 onwards Indians claimed and obtained a greater share in the administration of their country. This desire and its fulfilment are not a matter for surprise, for history was merely repeating itself. The national awakening and the spread of democratic ideas witnessed in India had likewise taken place in the West.

I. DEMOCRACY

Various Forms of Government. (a) *Autocracy.* An Autocracy is the government of a country by one man (an absolute monarch) or by a small number of men, *i.e.*, an Oligarchy (the rule of a few), without the people having any say in matters of government.

If the few men hold their position simply because they are of the wealthy class, the Oligarchy is called a Plutocracy or a Plutarchy, from the Greek word *plutos*, which means wealth.

These forms of government are either good or bad, according as those at the head rule for the good of the community or simply for their own interests against the common good.

(b) *Democracy.* A Democracy, whether it be a limited monarchy or a republic, is a form of government in which the people have something to say in the administration of the country.

The people have political rights, *i.e.*, those rights which a man can claim as a subject of the State; and among them the most important is the right of freely choosing the members of the legislative assembly of the land and the right of being freely chosen a member of that assembly.

The people have civil rights, *i.e.*, those rights which a man can claim as an individual or as the father of a family. Every individual can claim freedom of religion, of speech, of owning property, of choosing his own

profession and of associating with other men. Every father of a family is entitled to run his own home and to educate his children.

Therefore, democracy may be described as the rule of the people, for the people and by the people—not only in theory but also in practice. A democracy can be either good or bad. The community consists of three classes of people: the rich, the middle classes and the workers. If a democracy unduly favours the workers, ignores the middle classes and oppresses the rich, it can become as objectionable as the most selfish tyrannical rule. It is not a true democracy if it represents the interests of only one class.

II. SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST

Three great nations contributed to the spread of democratic ideas in the West: England, America and France.

A. ENGLAND

1. Magna Carta (1215). The Great Charter is one of the earliest triumphs over absolute monarchy. It was signed by King John at Runnymede in 1215. It settled the payments vassals had to make to the King and it forbade the imposition of any other taxes without the consent of the Great Council. No freeman could be punished without being previously tried according to the laws of the land. The violation of Magna Carta by the King gave his subjects the right to rebel against him. In other words, the King was not above the law of the land; the law of the land was above the King.

The Great Charter has been called, 'a great contract and treaty between the King and the English people'. At first it was nothing of the sort. It was a treaty between the King and the Barons, and the latter cared as little for the people as did their royal master. At a later period, jurists, *i.e.*, legal writers, read more into the Charter than was actually in it, and they made it a great political document, when it ceased to be the triumph of the Barons and became the triumph of democracy over the King.

2. Habeas Corpus (1679). A real democratic triumph was the Habeas Corpus Act. The Latin words mean 'Have the body', *i.e.*, see that the prisoner be brought before the Court. A judge, when called upon to do so, had to issue orders to direct the jailor to produce the prisoner for trial. No one could be kept in jail indefinitely without being tried in public. In other words, Habeas Corpus did away with arbitrary imprisonment without public trial.

3. The Revolution of 1688. The Revolution, famous for its Declaration of Rights, was the most decisive triumph over absolute monarchy.

(a) *The Revolution.* In order to carry out his plan to improve the position of his Catholic subjects, James II (1685-1688) maintained a standing army in time of peace, dissolved Parliament when it became too hostile, and interfered with the administration of justice when he caused the followers of the rebel Duke of Monmouth to be cruelly punished without a fair trial. He also claimed the Dispensing and Suspending Powers, either placing certain Catholics beyond the law or abrogating the law in their case. Finally, he issued the Declaration of Indulgence, by which all penal laws against Dissenters and Catholics were suspended; and he imprisoned seven Bishops who refused to read the Declaration in their churches.

The Protestant Parliament and the Church of England were fiercely opposed to the King. When a son was born to James II, they spread the rumour that the boy was not the King's son, but anybody's child, foisted upon the nation to secure a Catholic successor to the throne. This was untrue, but it increased the indignation of the people against James. William, Prince of Orange, head of the Dutch Republic, who had married

James II's daughter Mary, was invited to bring an army over to England to help in a rising against the King. He landed in November 1688, and James fled to France. In 1689 William and Mary became joint sovereigns, but the actual administration rested with William. He signed the Declaration of Rights, and Parliament passed the Bill of Rights.

(b) *The Declaration of Rights.* The use of the Dispensing and Suspending Powers, the raising of money without Parliament's consent, the maintenance of an army in time of peace were declared illegal. Parliaments were to be freely elected, frequently held, and their members had the right to freedom of speech. The King of England must be a Protestant and must not marry a Catholic. The Declaration settled the succession to the throne. In other words, the Declaration of Rights answered the question: Who will rule the country? The King or Parliament? The answer was: The King and Parliament.

Threefold Significance. The Declaration made England a limited monarchy. It marked the coming into power of the Oligarchy, or, more correctly, of the Plutocracy. A small number of wealthy influential men, who practically controlled the election of members of Parliament, became the rulers of the country. It indirectly prepared the way for Democracy. The members of Parliament were divided among themselves into two parties, Tories and Whigs. Roughly speaking, the Tories were the Court party, hostile to change and the Whigs the progressive party, anxious to limit royal power. This was the origin of Parliamentary Government, also known as Party Government. The party with the majority of seats in the House of Commons was the Government, the minority formed the Opposition.

4. Reform Movement in England (1832-1928). The cause of democracy was further promoted by a series of Acts of Parliament passed between the years 1832 and 1928.

(a) *In General.* These acts widened the franchise, *i.e.*, they gave the right to vote to an increasing number of people. They provided for a more reasonable distribution of seats in the House of Commons by suppressing pocket and rotten boroughs and by establishing new electoral districts.

Pocket boroughs were those in which the members who represented them were nominated by a rich and influential landlord. For example, under George II (1727-1760), the Duke of Norfolk had the disposal of fifty parliamentary seats. Other wealthy men possessed nine or ten pocket boroughs.

Rotten or decayed boroughs were those in which there were few voters, who either sold the parliamentary seat to the highest bidder or voted for themselves. For example, there was Old Sarum, which had neither electors nor inhabitants, so that the gentleman who sat for it represented only himself. On the other hand, newly sprung-up manufacturing towns with large populations were not represented in the House of Commons.

(b) *In Detail.* In 1832: The Reform Act of 1832 was the first step towards making the House of Commons a democratic body, *i.e.*, representative of the people; fifty decayed boroughs were suppressed; thirty-two boroughs were reduced in membership; 143 seats were given to new industrial towns. The franchise (the right to vote) was extended in boroughs or towns to the holders of houses worth £10 a year; in counties or rural areas to the holders of land worth £50 a year. The House of Commons became a chamber representing the middle classes.

In 1867: The Reform Act of 1867 was the second step. The franchise was considerably extended: in boroughs to all rate-paying holders of houses and to lodgers paying a yearly rent of £10; in counties to all

holders of land worth £12 a year. The House of Commons became a chamber representing the artisans in towns.

In 1835: The Reform Act of 1835 was the third step. The franchise was further extended to agricultural labourers on the same conditions as to the artisan in towns. All male citizens above the age of 21 occupying a house in town or county, either as owners or as tenants, were given the right to vote. The House of Commons became a chamber nominated by a democratic electoral system.

In 1911: The Parliament Act of 1911 made the democratic House of Commons the supreme legislature. The Lords can no longer reject a Money Bill, nor can they prevent the passing of any other Bill for more than two years.

In 1918: The Representation of the People Act of 1918 gave the right to vote to all men of twenty-one and women of thirty.

In 1928: The Act of 1928 gave the right to vote to women of twenty-one; women were now on equal terms with men. Adult suffrage without property qualification or sex discrimination was at last established.

5. Mother of Parliaments. The phrase usually stands for the British Parliament at Westminster, and it was first used by a great British statesman, John Bright, in 1865. The British Parliament is entitled to this name because it is one of the oldest parliaments, and because it created similar parliaments in other countries.

(a) *One of the Oldest Parliaments.* In Anglo-Saxon times the Witenagemot or meeting of Wise Men had supreme power: it could make and unmake the King, while the people were merely allowed to attend the meetings as spectators and shout their approval or dissent, an instance of democracy in its infancy.

During the Norman Period, the Witenagemot was replaced by the King's Council. The voice of democracy was smothered, and the King's power was absolute.

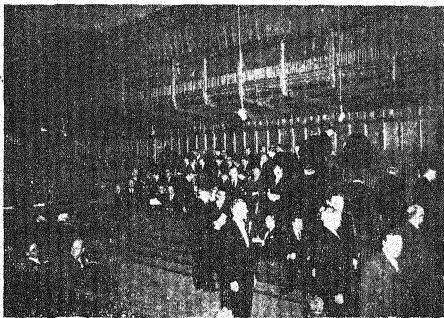
Before long, and already during the Norman period, the absolute power of the King was challenged by the Barons and continued to be challenged for hundreds of years. In 1215 the Barons won a great victory when they forced King John to sign Magna Carta by which the King recognized that he was not above the law. In 1295, in order to defeat the ambitious designs of the Barons, Edward I called the Model Parliament, in which the Church, the Barons and the People were represented. Edward I may rightly be called the founder of representative government and of the House of Commons. But it was only in about 1344 that the House of Commons held its own meetings, and Parliament became divided into two Houses.

From that time onwards the House of Commons profited by the financial needs of the King during the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453) to gain control over taxation and a share in the work of legislation and administration. For example, in 1376 the Good Government impeached the King's ministers before the House of Lords.

Not that the House of Commons was always able to make itself heard. During the War of the Roses (1451-1485) there was no parliamentary government, and anarchy prevailed. When peace was once more restored, the Tudors came to power and ruled as absolute monarchs, and the Stuarts tried to do the same, thus bringing about the Civil War and the execution of Charles I (1649). In 1679 Habeas Corpus put a stop to arbitrary imprisonment, and in 1689 the Bill of Rights marked the end of absolute rule, and England became a limited Monarchy.

Little by little the House of Commons became the great legislative assembly it is today as the result of the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, 1911, 1918 and 1928. (See p. 289.)

(b) *Other Parliaments.* The chief reason why the British Parliament can claim the title of Mother of Parliaments is the establishment of a similar system of government, not only in the countries that came under British sway (Canada, America, etc.), but also in practically all the nations of Europe, with the exception of Russia.



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

B. AMERICA

1. **In General.** The American War of Independence (1775-1783) contributed greatly to the spread of democratic ideas in modern Europe. Every country was impressed by the success of the Americans in establishing

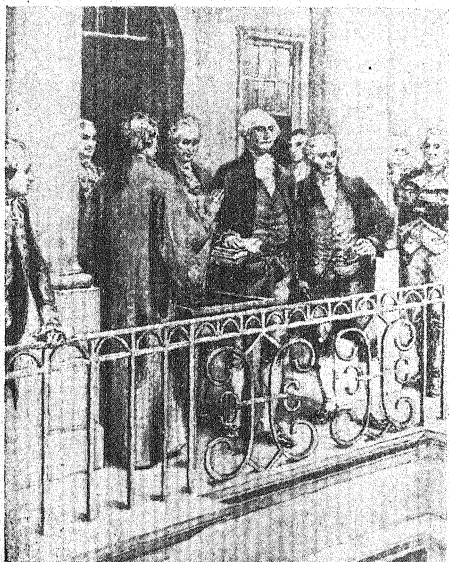
the right of people to self-determination, *i.e.*, choosing their own form of government.

2. In Detail. *Causes of the Conflict.* The American Colonies had tacitly claimed the right to self-determination long before the struggle began. They had not objected to the English laws which restricted their freedom of trading and of manufacturing certain articles, because these laws were not strictly enforced.

When in 1765 England imposed the Stamp Act, under the terms of which a stamp had to be affixed to every public document, the Colonies protested so strongly that the Act was repealed in 1767. But on that occasion a Declaratory Act was passed declaring England's right to tax the Colonies, and duties were claimed on tea, glass and paper, so as to realize £40,000 a year. There was general indignation among the Americans and the duties were repealed except the one on tea. This was fiercely resented, and in 1773, when the ships of the East India Company arrived at Boston with a cargo of tea, they were boarded by a party of colonists, dressed for the occasion as Mohawk Indians, and the tea was flung into the sea. The result was that the English Parliament passed coercive Acts against the Colonies, and all of them, with the exception of Georgia, declared war against England. The real cause of the war was that the idea of self-determination had taken root in the minds of the people of the Colonies.

Result. England was ultimately defeated, and the independence of the United States was recognized by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. But before peace was signed, the conflict between the Colonies and England had become an international war, in which France and Spain sided with the Colonies. England also got into trouble with Holland; while Russia, Denmark and

Sweden threatened hostilities by forming an *Armed Neutrality*.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

The result was that the War of Independence stimulated everywhere in Europe a strong love of independence. *Independence* became one of those magic words that

awakened in the hearts of men a great desire for a democratic form of government.

C. FRANCE

Democratic ideas won an overwhelming triumph in the French Revolution.

1. Causes. It cannot be denied that a change—the word *revolution* implies a *change*—was due in France. The common people were the victims of oppression; they had to pay heavy taxes, they were exploited by the members of the nobility, they lived in misery without any prospect of improving their lot. So great was the discontent that, when the States General, the National Assembly of France, which had not met for a hundred years, were summoned by King Louis XVI, the Commons refused to obey unless the two other States (or estates of the realm), the Clergy and the Nobility, sat in one chamber with them. When the meeting took place, the Jacobins, who were extreme democrats, attacked the King, the priests and the nobles so fiercely that the King determined to suppress the National Assembly by force of arms. Then the Revolution began with the destruction of La Bastille, the State prison in Paris, on July 14th, 1789.

2. Success. The French Revolution was a success in so far as it liberated the common people from an unjust and oppressive form of government. On the other hand it gave free play to the vengeful instincts of the mob and the cruelty of the extremists who now rose to power. The royal family was imprisoned, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette died on the guillotine, the members of the aristocracy and the clergy were hunted down like wild animals, and were guillotined or murdered by mass drowning. More than a million people were butchered

in the name of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'—a slogan which stirred the whole of France and many countries in Europe.



THE ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE

The Revolution led to prolonged warfare with other countries, to the return of personal rule under Napoleon, and to national defeat. Nevertheless it contributed more than anything else to the spread of democratic ideas in Europe; and in France itself it is still regarded as a glorious event.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by Autocracy, Oligarchy, Plutocracy and Democracy? [IV, I(a)-(b)]
2. How did England contribute to the spread of democratic ideas? [IV, II, A, 1-4]

3. Write notes on Magna Carta, Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights. [IV, II, A, 1-3]
4. In what direction did the Parliamentary Reform Acts work? [IV, II, 4(a)]
5. What were the most important Parliamentary Reform Acts? [IV, II, 4(b)]
6. Comment on the phrase 'The Mother of Parliaments'. [IV, II, 5]
7. Give a brief account of the War of American Independence. [IV, II, B]
8. Write a short note on the French Revolution. [IV, II, C]

V. THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

The spread of democratic ideas in the West, as described in the preceding section, did not directly contribute to the growth of democracy in India. The awakening of national consciousness in India was of a later date, as will be shown in the next Section, *VI The Struggle for Freedom*, p. 309.

Meanwhile, it may here be pointed out that during this struggle for freedom, events of world-wide importance took place outside India, and contributed greatly to the spread of democratic ideas in our country. In order of time these events were: the First World War, the Establishment of the League of Nations, the Rise of the Soviet Republic, the Growth of Fascism, the Second World War and U.N.O., *i.e.*, the United Nations Organization.

I. THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

1. Struggle for Imperial Power. After the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, at Sarajevo in Serbia, Austria accused the Government of that country of having connived at the crime, and threatened to declare war if her demands were not complied with. Serbia refused to do so, because

she was promised assistance from Russia. Austria would not yield because her ally Germany sided with her, while France stood by Russia against Germany. When war broke out, Germany invaded Belgium to attack France. This invasion brought Britain into the conflict, for she had guaranteed Belgium's neutrality in case of a European war. The Sarajevo murder was the occasion for the First World War; the real cause of it was the struggle for supremacy among the Great Powers. Before long the war became world-wide, and by the end of 1917 no fewer than 27 States were fighting Germany, Austria, and their allies Bulgaria and Turkey.

2. Triumph of Democracy. In order to induce other countries to join their side, Britain, the United States and France started a great propaganda campaign. It was everywhere proclaimed that the Allies were fighting for the sacred cause of freedom and democracy. By the time the Allies were victorious, those who had fought on their side had become freedom-minded, and nowhere more so than in India.

3. India's Share in the War. India helped Britain most generously with men, money and material. 985,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants were recruited in India, of whom more than sixty per cent were sent overseas. India's total military expenditure for the years 1914-1919 amounted to over 154 million pounds sterling. In addition India undertook to contribute 100 million sterling to the cost of the war, while the gifts of the Indian princes can hardly have been less than £500,000. In the words of Lord Hardinge, 'India was bled absolutely white'. Finally, as regards the material supplied by India, a detailed statement has never been made; the amount was simply colossal. It was not surprising that India, who had made such sacrifices in the cause, should

claim her share of the freedom for which the war had been fought. Democratic ideas spread everywhere, and the final result was a great national and combined effort in India to secure self-government.

II. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. Purpose. The League of Nations was started after the First World War with the praiseworthy intention of securing universal peace for the whole world by making war impossible. When two nations who were members of the League seemed likely to go to war, the Council of the League was to interfere and settle the dispute either by a unanimous or a majority decision. If a nation refused to accept this decision, its refusal was to be considered as a declaration of war against the League, and that nation was to be boycotted commercially and politically.

2. Failure. Unfortunately, the League of Nations proved to be unable to carry out this great scheme. First of all, there was unfriendliness and even enmity between the victorious and the vanquished nations who were members of the League. Next, the League could not deal efficiently with reluctant members. Finally, on several occasions, one or the other of the Great Powers withdrew from the League. For example, in 1933 Japan left the League when it denounced her attack on China; and in the same year Germany left it on the plea that it unduly favoured the former Allies; and in 1935 penalties were decreed against Italy for attacking Abyssinia, but could not be enforced.

After the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 the League ceased to operate. Its last meeting was held in April 1946 when it was dissolved and replaced by the United Nations Organization (U.N.O.).

3. Useful Activities. However, though the League failed miserably as a universal peace-maker, its activities in other directions were successful. It established an International Labour Organization, passed measures for the control of diseases, the suppression of criminal practices such as the sale of opium and unwholesome drugs, and for the uplift of colonial peoples.

The League contributed indirectly to the growth of democracy. Its attempts to improve the condition of the workers and to check diseases made India's political leaders anxious to work for the welfare of the people in their country. On several occasions delegates from India took part in the meetings of the International Labour Organization at Geneva.

III. THE RISE OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

1. Meaning. U.S.S.R. stands for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The word *Soviet* means a council of workers by hand and brain. All central and local authority is vested in these Soviets. The Soviet Republic professes to be a government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers.

2. Rise. Towards the end of the First World War the Socialist Party in Russia was divided into Bolsheviks (*i.e.*, the majority) and Mensheviks (*i.e.*, the minority). The Bolsheviks were opposed to giving support to the war and in favour of a violent revolution. The Mensheviks were ready to fight for Russia against Germany; they demanded a Constituent Assembly as in other countries. A revolution, followed by civil war, broke out in 1917. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin were victorious. The Czar was imprisoned and afterwards murdered; the Soviet Republic was proclaimed.

3. Growth. There are now sixteen Soviet Republics.

The Soviets are also the absolute masters of a large part of Eastern Europe; the Baltic and the Balkan States, Poland and Eastern Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Albania, while in other countries, notably in Italy and France, they have many followers. They have brought China within their sphere of influence, are firmly establishing themselves in Tibet, and have reached the northern gates of India.

4. Communism. It is the political creed of Soviet Russia. Under it all citizens are made equal economically, socially and politically. In theory the government is democratic, representing the will of all the labouring classes; in reality it is dictatorial in the extreme. A small group at the centre, under the leadership of Prime Minister Krushchev, are the real rulers of the country, and they make use of a formidable secret police to maintain themselves in power. In Russia there is no freedom of religion, speech and action, of ownership of property and of family life. The Russians themselves are not allowed to travel as they like, and few people from other countries are given permission to enter Russia, when they are told where to go and what to see. Whatever may be the grievances of the workers in other countries, India included, it is the height of folly on the part of those who are oppressed, underpaid or exploited to look for relief to the Union of the Soviet Republics, whose policy is not one of freedom but of tyranny without parallel in the history of the world. The so-called democratic Soviet Government has proved itself the most cruel of taskmasters and the greatest employer of slave-labour.

IV. THE GROWTH OF FASCISM

1. Meaning. The Latin word *fascis* means a bundle of rods, with an axe sticking out from them. In Ancient

Rome the *fascas* were carried by minor officials, called lictors, before the Consul (the head of the Republic) as a sign of his authority. Hence the word Fascism, from the Italian *fascismo*, stands for authority and signifies a special form of government.

2. Rise. Fascism was established in Italy by Mussolini after the First World War. He had once been a Socialist, but he grew disgusted with the disorders caused by the extremists among the Italian Socialists and by the Italian Communists. Accordingly, he established a political party of his own, which was totalitarian. The phrase 'total State' was coined by Mussolini; and a totalitarian government places the State above everything, so that it controls the entire life of every individual, whose sole purpose it becomes to serve the State. Totalitarianism is a form of government which admits of no rival loyalties or parties. (In this sense Communism is also totalitarian.)

No other political party was allowed: there were no free elections, no representative Parliament; there was only the Fascist Party with Mussolini as its leader or Duce, and a Fascist Grand Council appointed by the Duce; and in order that none might conspire against them, there was a Fascist militia, the Black Shirts, and a Fascist secret police.

The Fascist Party was neither capitalist nor socialist, but it was fiercely anti-communist. It was nationalist, but also expansionist, and wanted to revive the imperialism of Ancient Rome on behalf of Italy. Hence its foreign policy was one of waging wars and making conquests.

3. Growth. Fascism served as an example to Nazism, *i.e.*, National Socialism in Germany. Between the years 1925 and 1939 Fascism became a collective term that stood for similar movements in other coun-

tries; and it was used by Socialists against all dictatorial systems such as those in Germany, Portugal, Spain, Greece and elsewhere. There were even Fascist organizations in England and France.

Fascism was never popular in India, but the Fascists were. Some Indian nationalist leaders hoped for England's defeat in the Second World War from the very beginning of the contest, and especially after Japan's entry into the war. Therefore, in spite of their dislike of Fascism, they admired the Fascists; just as Englishmen, in spite of their dislike of Communism, praised the Communists after Russia had joined the Allies. Even nowadays the Fascists are remembered as Hitler's allies. They were defeated in the great conflict, but victorious Britain was too weak and exhausted in the hour of her triumph to keep her empire. There is some truth in the saying that 'Hitler won independence for India'.

V. THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

1. Cause. The real trouble started when Adolf Hitler became the Fuehrer of Nazi Germany, and resolved to avenge his country's defeat in 1918 and to make it supreme in Europe and elsewhere. He re-armed Germany and began absorbing neighbouring States (Austria in 1938 and Czechoslovakia in 1939) on the pretext that their population was largely German. The Great Powers protested, but did not take any effective action. They determined to interfere when Hitler threatened to declare war on Poland if she did not comply with his demand to construct a military highway and railroad across the Polish Corridor.

The Polish Corridor was a strip of territory given to Poland after the First World War, in order to provide her with an outlet to the Baltic Sea, which she greatly

needed for her foreign trade. It cut right across East Prussia. Britain and France realized that Hitler's demand was but a first step towards the occupation of Poland. Accordingly, they assured Poland of their assistance in case of attack. Poland was invaded by Germany on September 1st, 1939. Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3rd.

2. World-Wide Conflict. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, on August 23rd, 1939, Russia had signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. She did not on that account become involved in the war, though she attacked Poland from the east in September, and invaded Finland in November.

Germany overran Denmark and Norway in April 1940, and Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg and France in May and June 1940. Shortly before the surrender of France, Italy, who had been associated with Germany since 1936 in what was called the Rome-Berlin Axis, entered the war on Germany's side, as she was confident of the defeat of the Allies.

In 1941 Hitler astonished the world by attacking Russia, which now joined the Allies after having worked against them. In the following December Japan made a surprise attack on the United States at Pearl Harbour, a naval base in the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific. Then the United States entered the war, which thus raged over East and West; and before it came to an end thirty-one countries, which called themselves the United Nations, were fighting against the Axis Powers, Germany, Italy and Japan and seven smaller countries.

3. Summary of Events. If, after the surrender of France, Britain had not made her historic stand, everything would have been lost. It was the entry of the United States into the war, with its vast resources in

men, materials and wealth, that ensured the final defeat of Germany and her associates. Together with Britain, America poured an endless stream of munitions into Russia, and made it possible for the Soviet armies to hold out and ultimately to expel the Germans from Russia and eastern Europe. America bore the main burden of the war in the Pacific, though Britain and the Commonwealth made a great contribution. The allied armies drove the enemy out of Africa, invaded Italy, landed in France, and rolled the German armies back across the Rhine to their own country, now largely in ruins. Italy surrendered in 1943, Germany in May 1945, and Japan in the following August.

4. India and the War. At the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made a great mistake when he pledged India's support without consulting the Indian Legislative Assembly. He issued a Defence of India Act, which enabled Government to rule by decree, to prohibit meetings and to make arrests without warrant. His policy aroused widespread discontent among India's political leaders, and many top-ranking Congressmen were arrested and imprisoned.

However, this discontent did not impair India's war effort, which could not possibly have been greater. In 1939, India's army numbered 170,000 fighting men. Four years later, in 1943, there were about 2,000,000 Indian troops under arms, of whom 300,000 were sent overseas, and fought in Ethiopia, in North Africa, in Malaya and Burma. They were all volunteers.

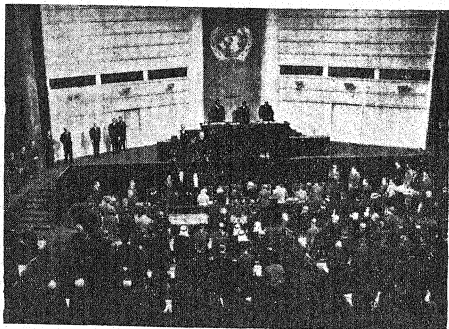
India also supplied materials on a gigantic scale. Indian factories turned out uniforms at the rate of 500,000 a month, blankets and tents and millions of sandbags made of jute, and 300,000 pairs of army boots a year. In the early part of the North African campaign

India was solely responsible for the supply of pipe-lines, rolling stock and locomotives. Even village industries were mobilized for making cotton cloth, blankets, camouflage, netting and pith helmets. Hundreds of miles of pipe-line were laid down from Bengal to the frontier of Assam. A network of roads was hacked out of the jungle, 200 aerodromes were constructed for the American forces flying supplies over the 'Hump' (the Himalayas) to China; 130 hospitals were erected, aircraft were assembled at eighteen centres; many kinds of craft required for coastal operations were built in Indian ports; and the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur were working day and night.

The Allies proclaimed to their own people and to the rest of the world that they were fighting for the cause of freedom. This could scarcely be denied in the face of what was known of the methods and the declared intentions of their opponents. It was thus a real triumph for democracy when the German and Italian dictators, and the imperial power in Japan were overthrown. Having made so splendid a contribution to the victory, India now had every right to press her own claim for freedom.

VI. UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

1. Origin and Object. The term United Nations was first used in 1942 to describe the nations fighting against the Axis Powers during the Second World War. The United Nations Organization was founded in 1945, when the United Nations Charter (*i.e.*, declaration of basic principles) was first drawn up and confirmed at San Francisco in the presence of the delegates of fifty nations. Its object is the maintenance of world peace, the protection of human rights, and the social and economic advancement of all peoples.



A SESSION OF THE U.N.O.

2. How it Works. The U.N.O. works through various Councils, *i.e.*, separate bodies entrusted with different activities.

(a) *The General Assembly.* Every one of the United Nations (there are now fifty-nine belonging to the Organization) is entitled to send one or more delegates to the General Assembly, whose functions are mainly deliberative. Whether a nation sends one or more delegates, it has only one vote.

(b) *The Security Council.* This is a small body, consisting of eleven members; it is in permanent session, and its importance is much greater than that of the General Assembly. Its main objective is the maintenance of peace.

Of its eleven members, five are permanent; the delegates of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France and China, *i.e.*, all the Great Powers

that fought on the winning side in the Second World War.

Any one of these five members can veto or block the taking of any decision, a privilege which Russia has frequently used; and thus the work of the United Nations has met with constant obstruction. When the five permanent members of the Security Council agree among themselves, a decision can be passed provided it has the support of seven members.

(c) *The Little Assembly.* In order to overcome the Russian policy of obstruction the General Assembly elected in 1947 a Standing Committee, known as the Little Assembly, to deal with matters held up by disagreement in the Security Council. But the Little Assembly cannot lay down the law, it can only give its own decision. The result is that Russia continues to veto decisions, and the U.N.O. is not as effective in securing international peace as was expected.

(d) *Other Councils.* Besides the bodies mentioned above, there are four others: the Economic and Social Council (dealing with economic and social problems), the Trusteeship Council (dealing with mandated territories), the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.

In addition to these, there are also secondary bodies entrusted with other activities. Among the latter the best known is U.N.E.S.C.O., *i.e.*, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Its purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture, by means of interchange of knowledge and understanding among the nations, the spread of education in every nation, and the maintenance and increase of the spread of knowledge.

3. Comment. The U.N.O., of which India is a member, has contributed indirectly to the spread of democratic ideas in India. It has enabled India to come into closer contact with the other nations of the world and to learn what is being done elsewhere for the welfare of the State and the advancement of the people.

VI. THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Introductory. In the Second Section of this Period, under the heading *II. Administrative Reforms* (1858-1921), an account was given of the increasing share acquired by Indians in the administration of their country, from Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, to Lord Chelmsford, the fourteenth on the list.

In the present Section it will be shown how between the years 1921 and 1947 Indians obtained at first a greater share in, and at last a complete control over, the administration of their country. During these twenty-six years, six more Viceroys ruled in India: (15th) Lord Reading, (16th) Lord Irwin, (17th) Lord Willingdon, (18th) Lord Linlithgow, (19th) Lord Wavell, (20th) Lord Mountbatten, the last of English Proconsuls but not the least.

For the sake of completeness mention will be made of the freedom movements abroad and the freedom movements in India, before and after 1921.

I. FREEDOM MOVEMENTS ABROAD

1. In Italy (1831-1870). After the Treaty of Vienna (1815), at the end of the Napoleonic wars, there were a number of separate kingdoms in Italy, and the rulers of some of these were not Italians but foreigners, who belonged to French or Austrian royal families. Italian patriots resolved to throw off their rule, which was often tyrannical and incompetent, in order to



GARIBALDI

form a united Italy, either a republic or a constitutional monarchy. Three men played an important part in this struggle: Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. It has been said of them that Mazzini was the prophet of united Italy, Garibaldi its knight-errant, and Cavour the statesman by whom the union was finally accomplished. The struggle began in 1831 and ended in 1870, when Victor Emmanuel became King of united Italy.

2. In Ireland (1170-1949). The freedom, movement in Ireland may be said to have existed

ever since that country was conquered by Henry II: from 1170 to 1542 when Henry VIII took the title of King of Ireland; from 1542 to 1801, when Ireland became united with Great Britain; from 1801 onwards till Home Rule was won in 1914. Afterwards a rising took place, in 1916, Dominion Status was awarded in 1921, the Irish Free State was established in 1922, it became a quasi-republican State in 1937, and remained neutral during the Second World War. In 1948 the complete separation was brought about when the Irish Parliament passed the Republic of Ireland Act which came into force in 1949.

Before the establishment of the Free State in 1922, the

British Parliament had passed the Partition Bill (1920), which is still in force, and under which Ulster or Northern Ireland remains a part of the United Kingdom, though with its own parliament and executive. There is a strong feeling in Eire that this position cannot last, and that Northern and Southern Ireland must eventually be united as a single country. Ulster, however is opposed to this union.

3. In China. The freedom movement in China was rather unexpected. China, the most conservative of all countries, had been under imperial rule ever since the year 2205 B.C. or thereabouts. Yet 4,000 years later, in 1912, the last ruler of the Manchu dynasty, a boy-emperor, was made to abdicate. This was the beginning of the Chinese Republic. Its founder was Sun Yat Sen, who had started a republican organization in 1895. In 1905, while he was in exile, he founded the famous Kuomintang, *i.e.*, the National People's Party, which took a leading part in the revolution. Northern China did not join in the democratic movement in 1912, and a long struggle ensued between the South and the North. It was only two years after Sun Yat Sen's death in 1925, that his successor, Chiang Kai-Shek, succeeded in conquering the North in 1928. In that year the whole of China was united



SUN YAT SEN

under one republican Government. It had a troubled existence, for after several years of 'undeclared' war with Japan, the country was involved in the Second World War, and in 1949, with the aid of the Russians, a Communist Government established itself in power.

4. India and Freedom Movements Abroad. These freedom movements elsewhere were a source of inspiration to political leaders in India. In 1876 Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian Association of Calcutta, and stated that it was to be the centre of an All-India movement based on 'the conception of a united India derived from the inspiration of Mazzini'.

Again, when in 1907 the Indian National Congress split into two parties, the Moderates and the Extremists, the latter drew their inspiration from Italy and Ireland. Biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Parnell were translated and studied, and secret societies were formed as in Italy and Ireland. At a later date, Annie Besant, who was Irish, started the Home Rule League, whose very name seems to indicate the country of its origin. Finally, the unexpected revolution in China under Sun Yat Sen was a conclusive proof that there was no stopping the onward march of freedom in other countries. Why should it be otherwise in India?

II. THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

A. THE PIONEERS

In military usage pioneers were formerly foot-soldiers, who marched in advance of the army, and with spades and pickaxes cleared and prepared the way for the main body. The word is also used in a more general sense for anyone who begins a great enterprise. There were two famous pioneers in the struggle for freedom in India.

1. Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). He came forward as a pioneer of English education and as an ardent supporter of every movement for social reform, such as the abolition of *Sati*, the suppression of certain degrading caste regulations, and the re-marriage of widows. In the field of politics he laid down the principles of constitutional agitation by the use of strictly legal methods. He made



RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

a great name for himself, and in the words of his English biographer, 'Ram Mohan stands forth as the tribune and prophet of New India'.

2. Surendranath Banerjea. He was among the first Indians to qualify for the Indian Civil Service, and, in spite of attempts made to debar him, he eventually entered it, but was afterwards dismissed. He then started on his political career.

He became the founder of the Indian Association of Calcutta (1876). The following year, when the age-limit for entering the Civil Service was lowered from twenty-one to nineteen—a measure which adversely affected Indian candidates—the Indian Association started the Civil Service Agitation. It was then that Indians for the first time made a united effort to obtain redress of their grievances. Six years later, in 1883, when Lord Ripon failed in his attempt to place Indians and Englishmen on the same judicial footing, and the Ilbert Bill had to be withdrawn, the Indian Association organized a country-wide protest in which Banerjea once more took the lead. An All-India National Fund was created, and the Indian National Conference was held at Calcutta, where representatives from various parts of India met to secure one common political end. Banerjea was perhaps the first to propose the formation of a united India.

B. THE MAIN BODY

After the way had been cleared and prepared by the pioneers, the struggle for freedom was taken up by the main body: the Indian National Congress, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Muslim League.

1. The First Meeting of the Congress (1885). Allan Octavian Hume, a retired Civil Servant, approached a number of prominent Indians with a view to starting an association for the mental, moral, social, and political uplift of the people. He was successful, and the first

meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in December 1885.

The fundamental principles drawn up at this first meeting were: (a) the fusion into one whole of the entire population of India, (b) the improvement of the united population on all lines, mental, moral and political, (c) the improvement of the status of the united nation by the removal of existing grievances.

2. United Congress (1885-1907). From 1885 onwards the Congress held its yearly meetings in different important towns, and the principles drawn up in 1885 were adhered to for twenty-two years, till 1907. During these years the Congress tried at first to play the role of an unofficial advisory body by informing Government of what the people of India wanted. When Government did not take the slightest notice of the requests put forward by Congress, that body started the policy of Constitutional Agitation, *i.e.*, it tried to remedy the grievances of the people by using strictly legal methods of agitation.

3. Congress Dissensions (1907-1916). Differences of opinion among Congressmen little by little led to dissensions, and in 1907 they became divided into Moderates and Extremists. The Moderates used constitutional methods of agitation and were in favour of maintaining the union with England. The Extremists were ready to use methods of agitation of any kind and to break with England. But this division was not a separation, and Congress continued to form one body from 1906 to 1916.

4. The Lucknow Pact (1916). During these years the idea of Home Rule had been spreading in many parts of the country. When Home Rule Leagues were founded



TILAK

in 1916, the one by Tilak in April and the other by Annie Besant in September, they found the ground fully prepared. In October nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council drew up a programme of political reforms aiming at Dominion Home Rule. The result was that, when they met at Lucknow that year, the Moderates and the Extremists forgot their dissensions

and unanimously adopted the Scheme of the Nineteen. What is more, the Muslim League, founded in 1906, made the Congress demands their own, and the new programme became known as the Congress League Scheme.

5. Breach in Congress Ranks (1918). A definite breach between the Moderates and the Extremists occurred in the special session held at Bombay in August 1918. On that occasion the Moderates were in favour of accepting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which the Extremists rejected. Thereupon the Moderates seceded from the Congress and set up the National Liberal Federation.

6. Mahatma Gandhi. (a) *Passive Resistance.* In 1917 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi began to take an active part in Indian politics. He had previously conducted a successful passive resistance campaign in South Africa in protest against anti-Indian legislation in that country. He now led two similar campaigns in India:

the one in 1917 at Champanar in Bihar against the system of enforced indigo cultivation; the other in 1918 in the Kaira District of the Bombay Presidency against the payment of taxes, its object being to obtain a remission of the land revenue on account of the failure of the crops.

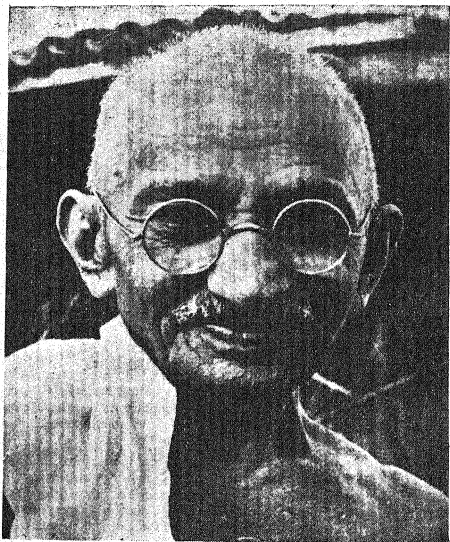
(b) *Satyagraha*. In 1919 Mahatma Gandhi started the *Satyagraha* campaign in order to prevent the passing of the Rowlatt Act.

(c) *Non-co-operation*. In 1920 he started his Non-Co-operation campaign to obtain redress of the Punjab wrongs and a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat question.

The Punjab Wrongs: After the passing of the Rowlatt Act in March 1919, disturbances broke out in the Punjab; five Europeans were killed, one Englishwoman was beaten up by the mob, two European banks were looted, some public buildings were set on fire. Thereupon gatherings of four or more persons were forbidden, and a great crowd which had assembled in the Jallianwala Bagh was fired upon; 379 of them died, and over 1,000 were wounded. Martial law was proclaimed, and a Crawling Order was issued that people passing through the street where the Englishwoman had been ill-treated had to go on all fours. These punitive measures were partly justified and partly condemned by the Majority Report of Lord Hunter's Committee, and altogether condemned by the Minority Report, the one drawn up by four Englishmen, the other by three Indians. These punitive measures became known as the Punjab Wrongs.

The Khilafat Movement: The Muslims resented the fact that the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalif of Islam, had suffered a heavy loss of temporal and spiritual power as the result of Turkey's defeat in the First World War, in which she had sided with Germany. Under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, they began an agitation for the restoration of the Sultan's former status.

Non-co-operation stood for the triple boycott of British courts, Government schools and the Reformed Councils (reformed by the Government of India Act of 1919). So great was Mahatma Gandhi's success that towards the end of 1921 he was practically the uncrowned king of



MAHATMA GANDHI

India. He had the support of the Congress and of the League, and the overwhelming majority of the people were on his side.

7. Comment. Passive Resistance consists in ignoring a particular law, even at the risk of imprisonment, in order to obtain its repeal. *Satyagraha* consists in total civil disobedience. Non-co-operation means a total break with Government. The three movements are effective in bringing severe pressure on the authorities, the second more so than the first, and the third most of all. Non-co-operation has the merit of merciless logic. If all officials resign their posts, the wheels of administration are bound to come to a stop, and Government will simply collapse unless it is prepared to resort to the most extreme measures. These movements have also a great disadvantage: they teach disobedience to authority, a lesson more easily learned than unlearned afterwards.

8. Result. The result was that towards the end of 1921 the country was in a state of political unrest. In that year Lord Reading became Viceroy.

QUESTIONS

1. Mention two great pioneers in the cause of Indian freedom. What did they do? [A, 1-2]
2. Give an account of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1917. [B, 1-5]
3. What were Mahatma Gandhi's political activities from 1917 to 1921? [B, 6]

III. THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA AFTER 1921

A. LORD READING (1921-1926)

1. Under Gandhi's Leadership. When Lord Reading arrived in India as Viceroy in April 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was in full activity, and with him the Congress

and the League, the National and the Khilafat Volunteers, and the people. Non-co-operation was not limited to the Triple Boycott of Courts, Schools and Councils but was also used by Gandhi to combat alcoholism by picketing toddy shops and to ban the wearing of foreign cloth.

Furthermore, the Muslim League, in their meeting at Karachi in October 1921, issued an appeal to all good Muslims to desert from the army and the police. This was done under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, who were accordingly arrested and condemned to two years' imprisonment.

On October 4th, 1921, about fifty leading Congressmen issued a manifesto in which they repeated the Karachi declaration, and the next day the Congress Working Committee approved this manifesto. Finally, on February 1st, 1922, Mahatma Gandhi openly challenged Government and virtually ordered it to cease interfering with Non-co-operation and to release all non-violent, non-co-operative prisoners, otherwise he would after seven days embark on mass disobedience.

2. Government's Response. Meanwhile *hartals* and disturbances had taken place on several occasions in industrial centres and in rural areas; for example, in Assam, where thousands of cultivators downed their tools; in Madras, where the Moplahs started a Khilafat kingdom and murdered a few Europeans and many Hindus; in Bombay when the Prince of Wales landed in India; and at Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, where twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were killed by an infuriated mob. The Chauri Chaura incident occurred before Gandhi's seven days' time-limit had expired. He was arrested, tried, and condemned to six years' imprisonment on March 18th, 1922.

3. Redistribution of Parties. The imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi was a severe blow to Non-co-operation; he himself called off Non-co-operation, and there was confusion among his followers. A new redistribution of political parties resulted along the following lines:

(a) *The Congress Khilafat Party.* Its members wanted to end the policy of boycotting the Councils. They were accordingly called Changers. They were a small minority in the Congress.

(b) *The No-Changers.* They remained faithful to the Triple Boycott.

(c) *The National Liberal Party.* They accepted the Montford Reforms as a first step towards complete self-government.

(d) *The Independents.* They did not belong to any of the above three parties; they were not numerous, but were powerful because they could either support or oppose any other party.

(e) *The Nationalists.* When the Changers re-entered the Councils, they were not numerous enough to carry out their programme of obstruction. They allied themselves with some seventy other Council members and formed the Nationalist Party, made up of Changers and Independents.

4. Conciliatory Measures. Lord Reading also attempted to restore peace. He approached the Home Government to obtain a revision of the Treaty of Sevres and more favourable terms for the Sultan of Turkey. He interfered on behalf of the Indians in South Africa and succeeded in postponing anti-Indian legislation there. He released Mahatma Gandhi from imprisonment on February 5th, 1924, less than two years after the six years' sentence. But these measures did not greatly

alter the political situation in India, where the opposition to Government was as strong as before.

5. Congress and League. Hindus and Muslims were equally bent on securing self-government. But after Mahatma Gandhi postponed Non-co-operation indefinitely in February 1922, they became communally divided and remained so when the Khilafat Question ceased to exist with the deposition of the last Khalif in March 1924.

QUESTIONS

1. What part did Gandhi, the Congress and the League play in the struggle for freedom during Lord Reading's term of office? [1]
2. What disturbances broke out, and what measures did Lord Reading take, repressive and conciliatory? [2, 4]
3. What was the redistribution of parties after Gandhi's imprisonment [3] and how did his imprisonment affect the relations between the Congress and the League? [5]

B. LORD IRWIN (1926-1931)

Lord Irwin, a deeply religious man, came to India with the intention of following a peaceful policy in the direction of self-government.

1. The Indian Statutory Commission. This became known as the Simon Commission as it was led by Sir John Simon. It was appointed in 1927 to study India's constitutional problem. After two visits to India (February-March 1928 and October 1928-April 1929) the Commission published its Report. Its members recommended the suppression of Dyarchy and the granting of practically full responsible government in the Provinces but not in the Central Government. Before these proposals were published in May 1930, Lord Irwin made a statement on October 31st, 1929 that the Promise

of 1917, to give the Indians an increasing share in the administration of their country, implied that India would in due time be given Dominion Status.

2. Widespread Opposition. As soon as it became known that the Simon Commission was made up of seven Englishmen, with not a single Indian member, the political parties in India, the Congress, the League and the National Liberal Federation passed resolutions that it should be boycotted at every stage and in every way. An All Parties Conference was held in 1928, at which the members drew up their own programme of the constitutional changes that were desirable, and a Report was drafted by Pandit Motilal Nehru, which claimed Dominion Status for India.

As soon as the Nehru Report was published, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Motilal's son, broke with his father. He was not satisfied with Dominion Status, but claimed *Purna Swaraj*.

N.B.—1. Home Rule: A form of government which recognizes the overlordship of a dominant Power in matters of foreign policy, but not in internal affairs and in the exercise of its legislative, executive and judicial powers, *i.e.*, in making laws, enforcing laws, and punishing those who break them.

2. Dominion Status: A form of government which no longer recognizes the overlordship of the dominant country in matters of either internal administration or foreign policy. However, the country still recognizes the sovereignty of the King, *i.e.*, a nominal overlordship of the once dominant country, for reasons inspired by friendship, courtesy, existing blood ties, and mutual advantage.

3. Purna Swaraj: This stands for complete freedom and independence; it claims supreme political rights in all matters of internal administration and of foreign policy. There is no longer any mention of a dominant power. The sovereignty of the King is not recognized. In other words, Purna Swaraj means a Republic.

Purna Swaraj was not only discussed but also approved of, when the Congress met in Calcutta in 1928. How-

ever, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi this Session of the Congress declared that it was satisfied with Dominion Status if it were granted before the end of 1929. Prior to that date, on October 31st, 1929, Lord Irwin made a final attempt to prevent the dreaded break with Government. He publicly stated that Dominion Status would be granted to India, and invited the leaders to attend the Round Table Conference to express their views there. This attempt failed, and at midnight on the last day of the year 1929 the flag of Independent India was hoisted in the Congress grounds. This was the signal to start the Civil Disobedience Campaign.

3. Civil Disobedience (1930). At first there were only instances of local civil disobedience by individuals, but after April 6th, 1930, on which day Mahatma Gandhi illegally prepared salt at Dandi Beach, the movement became country-wide. There were disturbances in many towns, and many prominent Congressmen were arrested, among them Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. From the towns the movement spread to the rural areas, but towards the end of 1930 it began to decline. Its weakening was partly caused by the Round Table Conference and the speech made by Ramsay MacDonald, at that time Prime Minister.

The Round Table Conference (November 1930-January 1931): This was successful in drawing up a Federal Scheme, in which the Indian States were included.

MacDonald's Speech (January 19th, 1931): The Prime Minister signified his Government's approval of the Federal Scheme, and stated England's readiness to grant India provincial autonomy and responsible government at the centre. He also expressed the hope that Congress would be represented at the next Round Table Conference.

4. The Delhi Pact (1931). Lord Irwin acted on the Prime Minister's hint. He released Mahatma Gandhi and all the members of the Congress Working Committee on January 23rd, 1931. About six weeks later, on March 4th, an agreement was arrived at between Gandhi and Irwin. The former promised to discontinue Civil Disobedience, the latter promised the release of all prisoners not guilty of violence, the remission of unpaid fines, the restoration of confiscated lands not yet disposed of, the withdrawal of punitive police, permission to poor people living in the villages near salt areas to manufacture salt for their own use and for sale in their villages.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was one of the last acts of Lord Irwin as Viceroy of India.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was the Statutory Commission sent to India? [1]
2. What measures did the Congress take when the Statutory Commission arrived in India, and what was the cause of the Civil Disobedience Movement? [2]
3. Write a note on Civil Disobedience in 1930, on the Round Table Conference, the Prime Minister's Speech and the Delhi Pact. [3-4]
4. Explain what is meant by Home Rule, Dominion Status and Purna Swaraj. [2, N.B.]

C. LORD WILLINGTON (1931-1936)

1. Agrarian Disturbances. The cessation of hostilities between Congress and Government did not last long. Agrarian disturbances broke out in the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province, owing to food shortages, and in the Bardoli taluka in Gujarat because the people claimed the restoration of all the lands confiscated during the Civil Disobedience Campaign, though some of them had already been sold to

third parties. The people refused to pay their rents to their landlords, or the land tax to Government, and repressive measures were passed by Government.

The Charge Sheets. In July 1931 Mahatma Gandhi forwarded to Government a list of 79 instances in which Government had failed to observe the Delhi Pact. Moreover, he now refused to go to the Second Round Table Conference, where he was to represent Congress. However, at the eleventh hour, an agreement was arrived at, known as the Second Settlement (August 28th, 1931), and he left for London to attend the Conference.

2. Second Round Table Conference. (September-December 1931): This Conference was a total failure. No agreement could be reached on the question of communal representation, and in 1932 the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, published a Communal Award, which satisfied nobody because the seats were not allotted according to ratio of population. The Depressed Classes in particular, who voted as a rule in Hindu constituencies, were given for a period of twenty years a number of special seats in separate constituencies of their own in those areas where they were very numerous. The latter proposal was unacceptable to Mahatma Gandhi, who started a fast to death and only desisted when the Depressed Classes, instead of being allotted separate electorates, were given seats from the general electorates.

3. Other Peace-Offerings. Various efforts were made by Government to conciliate Indian opinion: they took the form of a Third Round Table Conference (November-December 1932); the White Paper of 1933, based on the proposals of the Third Round Table Conference, and finally the Government of India Act of 1935. This last Act never came into force in its entirety.

4. Renewal of Civil Disobedience. (a) *Causes.* The Second Settlement of August 1931 did not bring about a lasting peace between Government and Congress. Agrarian and terrorist disturbances took place, repressive measures were passed, and after Mahatma Gandhi's return to India from the Second Round Table Conference in December 1931 a new Civil Disobedience Movement was started.

(b) *Little Success.* A number of Ordinances passed by Government greatly interfered with the success of the revival of Civil Disobedience. The movement was also weakened by Mahatma Gandhi's temporary withdrawal from politics to devote himself to the uplift of the Harijans. Finally, Mahatma Gandhi practically put an end to this second campaign by launching in its stead individual Civil Disobedience in 1933, and by issuing a message in 1934: 'In future no Congressman except myself shall practise Civil Disobedience.'

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the agrarian disturbances? What was Gandhiji's opinion about the repressive measures taken by Government? How was peace made? [1]
2. Why did the Second Round Table Conference fail? Why was the Communal Award unsatisfactory to all and in part unacceptable to Gandhi? [2]
3. Show that the Settlement of 1931 did not bring about peace. [4]
4. Write a note on the renewal of Civil Disobedience (causes, little success and why). [4]

D. LORD LINLITHGOW (1936-1941)

1. Congress Ministries (1937-1939). (a) *Their Establishment.* After his arrival in India, Lord Linlithgow made a trial of that part of the Act of 1935 in which provincial autonomy was granted. Elections were held, and

in eight of the eleven Provinces Congress secured the majority. In those eight Provinces Congress Ministries were established, and Coalition Ministries in the remaining three Provinces. These Congress Ministries remained in power for two years and three months (July 1937-November 1939).

(b) *How They Worked.* The Congress Ministries were not the real administrators of the Province; the real rulers were the members of the Congress Working Committee, also known as the Congress High Command. This Committee appointed a Parliamentary Sub-Committee of three members, who controlled the legislative activities of the Congress Ministries in the eight Congress Provinces, and also directed the activities of those of their party who belonged to the Coalition Ministries in the remaining three Muslim Provinces. The Congress Ministers resigned in November 1939 after receiving orders to that effect from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

2. Unexpected By-Product. *The Pakistan-nation Idea.* The formation of a separate Muslim State in India was first suggested in January 1933 by a Muslim student, Chauduri Rahmal Ali, in a privately circulated pamphlet. The name given in this work was *Pakistan*. P stood for the Punjab, A for the North-West or Afghan Province, K for Kashmir, S for Sind, TAN for Baluchistan. The pamphlet was at first ignored, but little by little the idea began to spread, and in the year 1939 the 'student's scheme' had become the accepted Muslim programme. Pakistan was changed into *Pakistan*, i.e., the land of the pure. This rapid spread was partly due to the policy of the Congress Ministers in the eight Provinces administered by them.

After the Congress Ministers had resigned, the Pirpur Report drew up a long list of instances of unfair treat-

ment of the Muslims in the Congress-ruled Provinces. Unfortunately, the official Congress reply to this Report, either stated that the Muslim grievances were baseless, or declared them to be due to the unauthorized actions of some young Congressmen. The result was that by 1939 the Muslims had practically abandoned the idea of federation and, in its stead, asked for separation.

3. The Second World War (1939-1945). *Indian Resentment.* While the Hindus and the Muslims were thus divided among themselves, the Second World War broke out. On that occasion Lord Linlithgow made the mistake of pledging India to the support of Britain without consulting the Indian Legislative Assembly. (See Section V.) The Congress fiercely resented this, and became more than ever unrelenting in their opposition to British rule.

4. Peace-Offerings. Lord Linlithgow made various attempts to appease the angry Congress leaders. He made the August offer in 1940, promising that Dominion Status would be granted immediately after the end of the war. He made a further attempt to win over the Congress when Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with the Draft Declaration of 1942, which promised that an Indian Union with Dominion Status would be set up after the war. However, as the offer of 1940 and the Declaration of 1942 acknowledged the demands for the formation of a separate nation of Pakistan, all these efforts failed.

5. Quit India. During the first three years of the war, Britain was on the losing side, and Mahatma Gandhi called these peace-offerings 'a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank'. For the first time in the history of the long struggle, Congress plainly told the British rulers that the time had come for them to 'Quit India'.

6. Disturbances. This open rebellion against British rule was followed by the arrest of many prominent Congressmen, and this gave rise to disturbances all over the country. About 250 railway stations and 500 post offices were either damaged or destroyed; 150 police stations were attacked, and a number of officials and soldiers were killed and 900 civilians lost their lives.

QUESTIONS

1. When and where were the Congress Ministries established, and how did they work and with what result? [1-2]
2. How did the Pakistan-nation idea begin, and why did it so rapidly spread? [2]
3. Give an account of the political events in India during the Second World War (resentment, peace-offerings, Quit India). [3-6]

E. LORD WAVELL (1943-1947)

1. The Insoluble Problem. (a) *United Opposition.* When Lord Wavell landed in India in 1943, Britain, America and Russia were clearly winning the war. But, in spite of the assured victory of the United Nations, the 'Quit India' movement continued to grow, and the opposition to British rule was everywhere increasing.

(b) *Indian National Army Trials* (1945-1946). The proof of this growing opposition was the conduct of a number of Indian soldiers, who, after being captured by the Japanese, had joined them and fought on their side as the 'Indian National Army'. When some of the officers were afterwards tried for treason, Congress defended them on the plea that they were national heroes who had fought for their country's freedom (from the British raj). The trial ended in the men being condemned, but their sentence was remitted.

(c) *Divided Efforts.* As the struggle for freedom was

progressing, the Hindus and the Muslims, though fighting on the same side, were more than ever divided as to the final aim each party had in view. The Hindus wanted to achieve a common independence; the Muslims insisted on a separate Pakistan. Great efforts were made to bring the two parties together, but the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting proved a failure.

Lord Wavell also endeavoured to make peace between the two communities. He proposed that the Hindus and the Muslims should send an equal number of representatives to the Governor-General's Executive Council, in which there would be only two non-Indians, the Viceroy himself and the Commander-in-Chief. His plan fell through because the Congress included among its delegates two Congress-Muslims, while Jinnah did not want the Council to include any Muslims who did not belong to the Muslim League.

2. The Solution of the Problem. The first post-war elections in the United Kingdom gave the Labour Party a clear majority over the Conservatives. The new Government had no imperialistic leanings; they were anxious to solve the Indian problem.

The Cabinet Mission. A Mission, composed of three members of the Labour Cabinet, came to India and suggested the following measures. They did not favour, but were willing to tolerate, the establishment of Pakistan. Apart from this, they recommended the formation of a Union of India, comprising British India and the States. The Union was to be in charge of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and the Provinces were to be entrusted with the remaining departments of administration.

The Provinces would form three groups, and each group was to determine the common provincial subjects

of the group and the particular subjects reserved to each member of the group.

Group A comprised the six Hindu-majority Provinces: Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Orissa and Bihar. Groups B and C were made up of the remaining Muslim-majority Provinces: in Group B the Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province; in Group C Assam and Bengal.

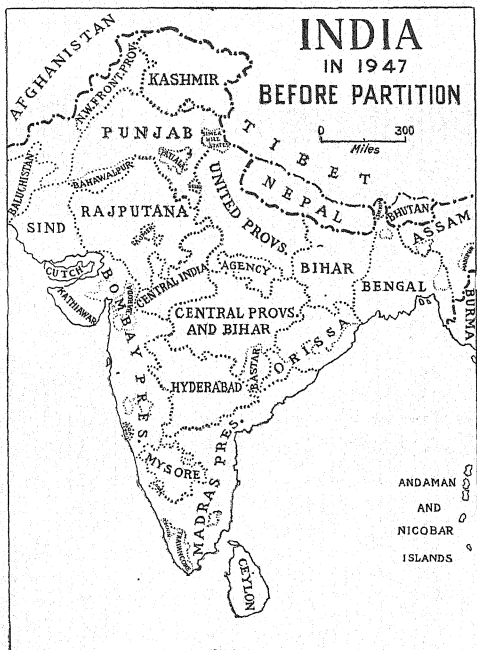
The Indian States were to retain all the rights and powers other than those ceded to the Union (Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications). By this scheme the Mission hoped to preserve the unity of India and to safeguard the rights of Pakistan.

Before the Mission returned to Europe, they prevailed on the Congress and the League to try out the new Scheme and to form an Interim Government after electing the members of a Constituent Assembly.

3. The Constituent Assembly of 1946. In the elections that were held in India, the Congress Party had an overwhelming majority, which enabled it to dominate the Assembly. The division of the Provinces into three groups, as provided by the Cabinet Mission, seemed likely to be ignored, and efforts were made to exclude the North-West Frontier Province and Assam from what was virtually the Muslim *bloc*. Thereupon the Muslim League cancelled its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission scheme and took direct action to achieve Pakistan.

4. Direct Action Day. August 16th, 1946, was chosen as Direct Action Day, on which all the Muslims were to signify their approval of the League's policy. On that day a battle royal was fought in the streets of Calcutta between Hindus and Muslims. About 5,000 people were killed and 13,000 injured. In other parts of the country similar disturbances took place, notably in

Bihar, where the Hindus burned many Muslim villages and killed many more of the Muslim population.



5. The Interim Government of August 1946. After Direct Action Day, Lord Wavell set up an Interim



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Government, which assumed power in September 1946 with Pandit Jawaharlal, Nehru as Chief Minister. At first the League refused to take part in the Interim Government. It consented to join it on October 15th; but on December 9th it once more withdrew from it.

6. Attlee's Statement (1947). The most important event during Lord Wavell's term of office was the

statement made by Clement Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister, on February 20th, 1947. He declared in the House of Commons that the British Government intended to transfer power and responsibility to the Indians by a date not later than June 1948. The transference was to be arranged by Lord Mountbatten, who was immediately to succeed Lord Wavell as Viceroy.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the state of the country when Lord Wavell landed in India? [1]
2. What solution did the Labour Party in England propose, and what various steps were taken in India? [2-5]
3. Write a note on Attlee's Statement. [6]

F. LORD MOUNTBATTEN (1947)

1. The Mountbatten Plan. This plan closely followed the recommendations made by the Cabinet Mission. On June 3rd, 1947, the new Viceroy advised the partition of India into two States, India and Pakistan. The A Group Provinces were to belong to India. As regards the B and C Groups, Bengal, Assam and the Punjab were to be partitioned on a community basis, while in the North-West Frontier Province and in the District of Sylhet, in Assam, the people were to choose for themselves whether they would join Pakistan or India.

2. Acceptance of the Plan. This one-man decision was accepted by all the parties interested. Accordingly, it was agreed that India would consist of the A Group Provinces, of the East Punjab, of West Bengal and Assam, while Pakistan would comprise Sind, the West Punjab and East Bengal and also, after the referendum, the North-West Frontier Province and the District of Sylhet.

3. July 1947. The Labour Government did not wait till 1948 to effect the transference of power and responsibility into Indian hands. In July 1947 the British Parliament passed the Independence Act which provided that British rule in India would cease on August 15th, 1947.

QUESTION

What were Lord Mountbatten's proposals and what was the ultimate result? [1-3]

IV. THE FINAL TRIUMPH

1. Freedom at Last. August 15th, 1947. On that day there came into existence two independent States, the Dominions of India and Pakistan. The King ceased to be the Emperor of India, but by courtesy was

given the title of King of India and Pakistan. The office of Viceroy lapsed, and in his place there was still in India and Pakistan a Governor-General appointed by the King; the British Parliament had no longer any concern with what used to be British India. In both India and Pakistan the legislative power was entrusted to a Constituent Assembly which had to frame a new Constitution. The Indian States were given the right to join the newly established Indian Union or remain outside it. Thus on August 15th, 1947, a new era began. It was the beginning of Free and Independent India and of Free and Independent Pakistan.



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This new agreement called for many changes, the making of which took considerable time, two years and three months, from August 15th, 1947 to January 26th, 1950.

QUESTION

Write a note on the Indian Independence Act [1].

VII. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS

Their Importance. The struggle for freedom is meaningless if the people are left to themselves and allowed to remain in the same state of intellectual and moral indolence and ignorance as before. It is necessary to suppress existing abuses and to prepare the way for the spread of new ideas. This is an important aspect of the struggle for freedom in India.

I. SOCIAL REFORMS

A. SUPPRESSION OF SATI

1. Meaning. *Sati* means the burning of widows with the bodies of their husbands.

2. Suppression. The total suppression of Sati was for a long time not attempted for fear of probable disturbances. However, Regulations were passed in 1812 and 1817 to restrict this evil practice by forbidding the burning of widows if they were of a tender age or pregnant, and by making it an offence to compel a woman to become Sati or to drug her for that purpose. It was only on December 4th, 1829, that Lord William Bentinck passed the famous Regulation XVII, permanently abolishing Sati in its entirety. Sati was made a crime of culpable homicide, and those who encouraged or had a share in it could be prosecuted.

3. India's Co-operation. Ram Mohan Roy, a pioneer in the cause of Indian freedom (See No. VI Section, II, A) played a prominent part in the total suppression of Sati. In 1817 when the practice was restricted, he openly challenged the protesting orthodox Hindus, and declared that 'all these instances of Sati horrors are murders

according to every Shastra as well as according to the common sense of all nations'. In 1829, after the total abolition of Sati, a number of Hindus sent a petition to the Board of Directors for the suppression of Regulation XVII of 1829. To counteract this move Ram Mohan Roy sent to the Governor-General a letter of congratulation signed by 300 prominent Calcutta citizens. India's pioneer in the struggle for freedom thus had a share in the abolition of Sati.

B. WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE

1. Facts of the Case. Hindu widows are not allowed to re-marry. This prohibition dates so far back that the members of the Hindu Community have long accepted it, without perhaps being fully aware of its objectionable features, as, for example, the dreadful plight of child-widows. The following figures are taken from the Census of 1921.

Hindu Widows

Less than 12 months old	..	..	..	612
Between 1 and 2 years	..	..	..	498
Between 2 and 3 years	..	..	..	1,280
Between 3 and 4 years	..	..	..	2,868
Between 4 and 5 years	..	..	..	6,758
Total under 5 years	..	..	..	12,016
Between 5 and 10 years	..	..	..	85,580
Between 10 and 15 years	..	..	..	233,533
Total between 5 and 15 years	..	..	..	319,113
Total number of widows under 15 years	..	..	..	331,129

Again, according to the Census of 1901 the number of widows then amounted to about one-sixth of the female population of British India. It is not a matter for surprise that attempts have been made to redress the grievances of these unhappy women.

2. Various Steps and Measures. (a) *First Step.* A first step towards the removal of the prohibition of widow re-marriage was taken in 1855 during the term of office of Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856). A Bill was then introduced 'to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows', and it received the assent of Lord Canning in 1856. Orthodox Hindus protested fiercely against this new measure. By the abolition of Sati (1829) a widow could no longer be burnt, and now she was to be allowed to re-marry! So bitter was their resentment that it is now generally admitted that Regulation XVII of 1829 and the Widow Re-marriage Act of 1856 contributed to the outbreak of the great Rising in 1857.

(b) *Religious Reform Movements.* The Act of 1856 was a permissive Act: it did not prevent the orthodox Hindus from inflicting social and religious penalties on the re-married widow and her husband; for all practical purposes they became outcastes, so that very few Hindu widows could take advantage of the Act. However, the great leaders of the Religious Reformist Movements and their followers started a campaign against the imposition of these penalties by quietly ignoring them and openly founding the Widow Marriage Association in 1861.

(c) *Nowadays.* It cannot be said that widow re-marriages are common nowadays, yet there is no longer the same opposition to them. In cities like Bombay no notice is taken of them, but in other parts of the country the same tolerance may not yet prevail.

C. UNTOUCHABILITY

1. Meaning. *In Former Days.* Untouchability originally stood for unapproachability. An untouchable could not approach within a certain distance of a high-caste Hindu; he had to get off the road to allow the twice-borne princeling to pass, and had even to shout a

warning of the risk of pollution. This revolting exhibition of caste tyranny now belongs to past history, but to no distant past; it still persisted in Southern India in 1930.

Nowadays. In our days the word *Untouchability* is no longer in current use, it has been replaced by a less shocking appellation: the Depressed Classes. But this change of name does not mean that such people are no longer the victims of oppression. They are still despised by the caste Hindu, and outrageously exploited whenever it can be done with impunity. They are outcasts and outcasts too. They number well over 50,000,000, about one-eighth of the population.

2. Great Leaders. Among those who have played a prominent part in the improvement of their condition and status are Dr. Ambedkar, himself one of them, and Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Ambedkar. In his despair of ever securing equality of status and treatment for the members of the Depressed Classes, Dr. Ambedkar advised them to embrace Christianity or any other religion, and to have nothing more to do with Hinduism. Some of them followed their leader's advice, but not many; and in course of time Dr. Ambedkar quietly dropped his conversion policy, which was not inspired by religious feelings but merely made for political purposes.

Mahatma Gandhi. He took a different view. He believed that the Depressed Classes belonged to the Hindu fold and was ready to fast to death for this belief. He wanted the other Hindus to think as he did. He came forward as the defender of the Depressed Classes, whom he called Harijans, *i.e.*, a divine offspring, the sons of God.

His campaign in their favour was uphill work. Even

his strong personality and influence were at first unable to overcome the inborn reverence in which the Hindus hold the caste system. Not at all discouraged by this opposition, he journeyed for ten months through India, from place to place, and everywhere pleaded the cause of the Harijans, so that temples and schools and wells should be thrown open to them (November 1933-August 1934).

His temple-entry campaign was slow in producing results, but at last a change took place. The first States to move were Oudh, Kashmir, Travancore, Baroda and Indore. In 1938 the Provinces of Madras and Bombay followed suit. In principle the battle for emancipation was won.

3. The Constitution of India (November 1949). In Part III of the Constitution, Fundamental Rights, it has been laid down: 'Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law'. Nevertheless, it will take a long time to achieve the reality of equal status.

D. THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION

1. In General. In the words of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission of May 1930: 'The many admirable schools and hospitals, founded and maintained by Christian missionaries of various nationalities and denominations, compel a tribute to the splendid services they render. It was the missionaries who were among the pioneers of education for the illiterate; they maintain some of the best medical institutions in the country; and their work among women and children, and for the Depressed Classes, is of special significance.'

Not the least admirable feature of their activities is that they have carried on their labours without offending the susceptibilities of either Muslim or Hindu, and have lived at peace and amity with their neighbours.'

2. Further Details. The Indian Christians, who number over 8,000,000 stand high in the table of literacy. More than one in five of them is returned as able to read and write and to pass any literacy test. Their culture compares favourably with that of any other community, which is all the more remarkable because the majority of Christians rank socially very low. Moreover, they have conferred great educational benefits on the other communities in India. They run primary schools in villages; primary, middle and high schools in towns, and university colleges in towns and cities. All these educational establishments are frequented by a large number of Hindus, Muslims, Jains and Parsis. It is no exaggeration to say that India has profited greatly by their educational services. This is their greatest achievement, of which the Christians may rightly be proud.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Sati (its meaning, its suppression, Ram Mohan Roy's activities). [A, 1-3]
2. Write a note on widow re-marriage (its hold on the country, steps against it, present position). [B, 1-2]

II. RELIGIOUS REFORMIST MOVEMENTS

1. The Brahmo Samaj. (a) *The Movement.* It was a return to primitive Brahmanism with a view to promoting the worship of the one God. Accordingly, it rejected the worship of many gods (polytheism) and of images. In their religious meetings the founder and

his followers recited the Upanishads and sang Vedic hymns.

(b) *Great Leaders.* Ram Mohan Roy, its founder, drew up its religious programme. Devendranath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath, succeeded the founder in the religious leadership of the organization, when Ram Mohan went to England, where he died. It was during his time that the Brahmo Samaj became divided into two camps, the conservatives and the progressives. Keshab Chandra Sen, the leader of the progressives, started a new Brahmo Samaj and abandoned his guru, Devendranath Tagore. He was himself abandoned by those of his followers, who were still more progressive than he was, and who founded a third Brahmo Samaj.

(c) *Activities.* The Brahmo Samaj was associated with important reforms, partly social and partly religious, such as the suppression of Sati in 1829, and of the enforced widowhood of Hindu women. It also fought for the removal of caste rigidity, so that in course of time inter-dining among different castes and travel to foreign lands beyond the sea did not entail loss of caste. In one direction it failed. The Brahmo Samaj could not shake the Hindu belief in many gods and the worship of images.

2. The Prarthana Samaj. (a) *The Movement.* It is an offspring of the Brahmo Samaj and was founded in 1847, under the name of Paramahansa Sabha; its members were Maharashtrians. In 1867 it was revived and renewed on the occasion of a visit to Bombay by Keshab Chandra Sen, when it changed its name and became known as Prarthana Samaj, which means 'Prayer Meeting'. Its members did not intend to found a new sect, but a reformist movement in Hinduism.

(b) *Great Leaders.* The two most famous leaders of

the Prarthana Samaj were Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Mahadev Govinda Ranade. Bhandarkar: He was a Sanskrit scholar, a man of great erudition. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona will ensure that his name is long remembered. Ranade: He was the first Fellow of the Bombay University, and afterwards became a judge of Bombay; hence he is best known as Justice Ranade. He insisted on the interdependence between a man's religion and his social, economic and political activities; and taught that the four of them should equally be the object of any projected reform. As regards religion, he laid stress on preserving the beliefs of the past and was against any social improvement that altered the old Hindu religion.

(c) *Activities.* The members of the Prarthana Samaj encouraged inter-dining and inter-marriage among different castes; they established a Foundling Asylum, a Widow's Home, a Depressed Classes Mission, and held night schools. As social reformers they were as active as the members of the Brahmo Samaj; but they tried to strike a middle course between the westernizing tendencies of the Brahmo Samaj and the Indianizing tendencies of the Arya Samaj, founded eight years later in 1875.

3. Theosophy. (a) *The Movement.* Theosophy means Divine Wisdom; it is the knowledge of God, as distinct from theology, the study of God. The study of God is for the few; the knowledge of God is for all, and is the key to the knowledge of nature and life. Theosophy sets great store by the occult sciences, *i.e.*, those dealing with supernatural things.

(b) *Its Leaders.* As a nineteenth-century movement, Theosophy came from America, where it had been revived by Madame Blavatsky, a Russian, and Colonel

Olcott, an American, the founders of the Theosophical Society. Annie Besant, of English-Irish parentage, became a Hindu, and was the exponent of Theosophy in India. Under her leadership Theosophy was adapted to Hinduism. She had many followers among the Hindu intellectuals, especially at Madras, which became the centre of the Theosophical Society.

(c) *Activities.* Besides preaching Theosophy and insisting on the importance of the occult sciences, Annie Besant played an important part in Indian politics and started a Home Rule League. Thus the activities of Theosophy contributed to the growth of Indian nationalism.

4. The Arya Samaj. (a) *The Movement.* It insists on the descent of the modern Hindus from the early Aryans who lived in Aryavarta, their ancient land. It stands for the revival of the ancient Hindu religion in its former purity. It does not confine its membership to the intellectuals, but also enlists the sympathies of the masses. Its source of inspiration is the Vedas, which contain all the truth, *i.e.*, the knowledge of God, that of the material universe, and that of modern times. There is nothing new under the sun; it is all in the Vedas.

(b) *Its Great Leader.* Its greatest leader was Dayananda Saraswati, a Brahman from Gujarat, who did not know English and had no western education. He explained his doctrine of pure Vedism in his book *Satyartha Prakash*, *i.e.*, Things seen in their true light. In this he rejected the Christian and Muslim belief in one God and yet defended the worship of one God. His work contained a direct appeal to the masses, and was anti-Brahmanical in this sense that it rejected the caste system.

(c) *Activities.* Though founded in Bombay in 1875,

this movement spread most widely in the Punjab, where it has the largest following. It is intensely nationalistic, and its aim is to work out India's destiny of national, social and religious unification.

5. The Ramakrishna Mission. (a) *The Mission.* It holds that the pure Vedantic doctrine of Ancient India is capable of raising man to the highest spirituality, but it also recognizes its later development and the worship of images, which may be a source of great spiritual fervour. For all that, it is not exclusive in its teaching; it tries to satisfy everybody, and professes that all the great religions are fundamentally the same: Krishna and Christ, Hari and Allah are but different names of the same great God. Therefore, it claims to be a world-religion.

(b) *Great Leaders.* Two great leaders stand out among the members of the Ramakrishna Mission: Paramahansa Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda. Ramakrishna was a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta, a simple man without any special educational training either eastern or western, yet he founded the Ramakrishna Mission, which takes its name from him. Vivekananda organized the Mission and made it known throughout India. His learning, eloquence and zeal made themselves felt, not only in India, but also in America in the famous Parliament of Religions held there in 1893. During the whole of his life he devoted all his energies to the spread of the Mission in India, in the United States and in Europe.

(c) *Activities.* The Ramakrishna Mission has opened schools and dispensaries and rendered great services to the victims of famines and floods. It has done useful and unselfish work among the Depressed Classes. Its members also gave a new impetus to the spirit of

nationalism, and it was Vivekananda's aim in life to restore India to her proper place among the nations.

6. General Survey. With the exception of Theosophy, which was an American-made religious system adapted to Hinduism, the other Religious Reformist Movements were concerned with the principles and the practices of modern Hinduism.

As regards the principles of modern Hinduism, the reformers advocated a return to the primitive Hinduism of the Vedas. As a rule this revival movement remained strictly within Hindu lines. However, some of the progressive members of the Brahmo Samaj developed rationalistic tendencies and made reason the supreme authority in religious belief, thereby weakening the authority of the Vedas; while the Ramakrishna Mission widened the religious outlook of its members, and put the other great religions on a par with Hinduism.

As regards the practices of Hinduism, the Brahmo Samaj wanted to make a clean sweep of most of them, the worship of many gods and of images included; but the other movements were more conservative. But all of them were against objectionable caste regulations forbidding inter-dining and inter-marriage among different castes, and widow re-marriage.

As regards their social activities, they worked for the uplift of the people and especially of the Depressed Classes; at the same time they did much to spread the spirit of nationalism, and they played a prominent part in the struggle for freedom.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the Religious Reformist Movements. [6]
2. What do you know about Ram Mohan Roy? [pioneer, No. VI Section; suppression of Sati, I, A, 3; Brahmo Samaj, II, 1]

3. With what Religious Reformist Movements was Keshab Chandra Sen connected, and how? [1(b), 2(a)]
4. Write a note on Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade [2], Annie Besant and Theosophy [3], and on Swami Vivekananda [5].
5. Write a note on the Arya Samaj (the movement and its founder). [4]

VIII. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

This period of Indian History opens with the consolidation of British power in India, and it closes with the coming into existence of Free and Independent India. It was a long journey by successive stages; sporadic administrative reforms, the industrial revolution in the West and in India, the growth of Democracy in the West and in India, the victorious onward march of the freedom movement and, all along the way, various social and religious reforms. This long journey from dependence to independence was made under the guidance of great men whose names will always be held in reverence. These leaders were few in number. What about those who followed them, the nation in the mass? Did the people of India also change? They did, and to such an extent that their forebears of a hundred years ago would be surprised beyond belief if they could return to the land of the living and see the life of their children's children.

I. EDUCATION

1. Educational Progress. (a) *In Former Days.* Prior to the coming of the British to India education was based on religion, and Shastras or the Koran was taught. The coming of the British did not change matters, for the servants of the East India Company were merchants and conquerors, and for a long time (1600-1800) they were not interested in schools.

(b) *Nowadays.* The great mass of the people is still illiterate, though not quite to the same extent as formerly. Educational progress is not so much a matter of numbers, it consists in the gradual establishment of an organized educational system providing for the needs, not of a privileged class, but of the whole of India.

2. Development of Organized Education. First Step.

In 1835, during Bentinck's term of office, Indians became eligible to public offices and appointments. In order to provide them with the necessary training, a few high schools and colleges were opened by Government, where English was made the medium of instruction in accordance with Bentinck's Resolution of 1835, based on Macaulay's Minute on Education. It may be pointed out that Bentinck began to erect the structure of Indian education from the wrong end. He started with the roof instead of laying the foundation, with higher education and not with primary education.

Second Step. In 1854, after a Parliamentary Inquiry into the affairs of the Company, Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, published his famous Educational Despatch which led to the establishment of an organized system of education in India. The new scheme was drawn up in 1855, but it did not come fully into operation until 1859, after the Queen's Proclamation.

A Department of Instruction was set up in every Province, and examining universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. But at the same time primary, middle and high schools could be opened by anyone, and they were left free to carry on their activities, provided real educational work was done in them and not merely a make-believe show to obtain financial assistance on false pretences; for the most important

feature of the scheme was that every honest educational agency would receive grants-in-aid.

Third Step. The missionaries had already been running primary schools prior to 1859; they took advantage of this new Government scheme and started erecting their proud structure of primary, middle and high schools. They were also pioneers in the modern education of women, and the establishment of a girls' school in Calcutta in 1849 became a landmark in the history of female education in India.

Fourth Step. The University Act of 1904 gave Government a great control over universities, and at the same time the universities were given the right to inspect schools and colleges, and were made responsible for granting recognition to them. If the first part of the Act met with considerable opposition, the remaining part served a useful purpose.

Fifth Step. The Government of India Act of 1919 handed over the administration of education to the Provinces under the control of the Indian Ministers. To direct the educational activities in the various Provinces a Central Advisory Board of Education was re-established in 1935, and a Bureau of Education in 1937. The various Provinces applied themselves to their new task in real earnest, and Compulsory Primary Education Acts were passed, and attempts have been made to start 'teaching through the craft' in accordance with the Wardha Scheme.

Sixth Step. Finally, since the Constitution of 1950 provided for Adult Suffrage, it has become necessary that primary education should become universal in India. In order to do away with illiteracy, adult education is being encouraged under the management of Government-controlled bodies. A literacy campaign has been started, classes for illiterate grown-ups have been opened,

and the public have been asked to help this movement by giving it their financial support.

3. Result. Education is no longer the privilege of the children of aristocratic families; it is meant for all, and great numbers have availed themselves of their opportunities. According to the latest available statistics (1946-1947) there were in India 163,867 educational institutions for males and 1,748 for females, attended respectively by 10,738,330 and 3,894,248 scholars, not counting the students of the 16 universities. There were then 359 Arts and Science Colleges for males and 59 for females; 3,061 High Schools for boys and 576 for girls; 7,083 Middle Schools for boys and 1,187 for girls; 120,536 Primary Schools for boys and 14,330 for girls.

According to the 1941 Census 120 out of every 1,000 of the population are now literate as against 95 out of every 1,000 in 1931, 40 out of every 1,000 in 1891, and half a dozen or even less out of every 1,000 in 1800.

II. ARTS

1. The Past. India may rightly be proud of a glorious past in the realm of the Arts (Sculpture and Painting), of Architecture (temples and mosques, fortresses, palaces for the living and resting places for the dead), and of Artistic Crafts (stone and metal work, wood and ivory carvings and the handloom weaving of cotton and silken goods). No proof is needed for this statement; it is admitted by all; and India's achievement in these fields is written large in the annals and relics of the past.

2. The Present. (a) *Artistic Crafts.* India's skilled workmen have not lost their forefathers' skill; and the ancient crafts have survived and are practised nowadays in various parts of the country. There are weavers still

and jewellers, craftsmen of the highest artistry, their fathers' sons indeed.

(b) *Architecture.* The great monuments of the past were erected under the patronage of India's all-powerful rulers of former days. With their passing, Indian architecture ceased to flourish, and western styles of architecture were introduced by the Portuguese, the French and the British. Baroque or highly ornamental churches and palaces were built by the Portuguese and the French while the early British colonial buildings mainly aimed at simplicity and their main purpose was the comfort of the occupants in a trying climate. During the nineteenth century the public buildings became more artistic in design, a strange mixture of various western styles and Indian elements.

In modern times there has been a revival movement in Indian architecture among Hindu and Muslim master builders in Rajputana and other parts of the country. There has likewise sprung up a non-Indian, western school exemplified by the building of the new capital of Delhi. This school has found widespread acceptance. In the great industrial centres of India, the question of style is not given much consideration. Huge reinforced concrete structures are erected to provide either for public offices or for private tenants.

In Bombay there is a School of Architecture, a part of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Arts, where a five-year course in architecture is given. There is also the Indian Institute of Architecture whose members are scattered all over India and Pakistan. Most of the present-day buildings in India are erected by private firms.

(c) *Sculpture and Painting.* As in architecture, so in sculpture and painting India has a glorious past history. When the great Hindu and Muslim dynasties came to an end, the arts of painting and sculpture rapidly

declined. In modern times the past is slowly coming to life again, and a great revival movement is making itself felt, especially in the art of painting.

Three schools have come into existence in Bengal:

(i) The first school works openly in the direction of re-orientalization, which means that it is a return to the ancient art of the East as it formerly flourished in India. This revival movement was started by Mr. Havell, when he was the Principal of the Calcutta Art School, and it owes much to the enthusiastic support of Abanindranath Tagore and his followers. (ii) The second school is also endeavouring to revive the art of Indian painting, but in its approach to this study it is more naturalistic; it aims at painting Indian life, mostly portraits and other such-like subjects, as they are in reality. (iii) The third school is still more pronounced in its naturalistic approach and makes use of modern, not exclusively Indian, technique to depict Indian life.

These three schools are localized in Bengal, but their influence is gradually spreading in other parts of the country. Unlike architecture, Indian painting is steadily regaining the ground it had lost.

There are several Art Schools in India. The Government Art School at Calcutta teaches the fine arts, sculpture and Indian painting, and also commercial arts: modelling, lithography, wood-engraving and draughtsmanship. The Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Arts at Bombay teaches the fine arts and many other crafts and industrial arts. There are other art schools in India and Pakistan, at Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Banaras, Madras, Mysore and elsewhere under the patronage of the Provincial Governments.

III. LITERATURE

By literature is here meant the literary productions

of Indian authors, either in prose or in verse, in an Indian language or in English.

1. Modern Indian Literature. In recent years a great number of literary works have been published in various provincial languages spoken in the country: in Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Urdu. These manifold literary efforts were often inspired by the spirit of nationalism which was astir all over the country and which Indian authors greatly helped to spread. However, it would be an exaggeration to say that the books, written in the Indian languages, all deal with political subjects. Their authors include dramatists, novelists, biographers, essayists and poets. A great number of writers are also engaged in contributing to the daily or weekly newspapers published in various Indian languages.

2. Anglo-Indian Literature. This phrase stands for the literary works written by Indians in English. It is always a difficult task to write in a foreign tongue, and the wonder is that so many Indians have succeeded in gaining an astonishing mastery of the English language.

Many of them have written not merely correctly and fluently but also with a power and brilliance that have won the admiration of English men of letters, and not only in prose but in verse.

Among these writers there are numbers who have treated political, social and scientific subjects with outstanding skill, and others who were concerned with literature properly so-called: poetry, drama, fiction, essay-writing and criticism. In the realm of poetry the greatest of all was Rabindranath Tagore, whose literary fame is world-wide. Among the prose writers mention may here be made of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal

Nehru, whose autobiographies are great literary achievements.

With the passing of the English Raj it is likely that the number of these writers will steadily decrease, while that of the Indian-language writers will progressively increase.

IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

1. The Change. It was long a widespread belief that, unlike the West, the East was forever bound in the iron shackles of unchangeable customs. This belief can no longer be held in the case of India, where the manners and the customs of the people have undergone a momentous change. Life is nowadays totally different from what it was a hundred years ago.

2. Causes. The following causes have contributed to bring about this new order of things.

(a) *Means of Communication.* In former days not many people travelled long distances; a few aristocrats for pleasure, merchants for gain, and pilgrims for devotional purposes. The ordinary Indian spent most of his life in the village of his birth or its immediate neighbourhood. This is no longer so, owing to the rapid and cheap means of communication. A former six-months' journey now takes half as many days by train or by bus, and that for a fraction of the formerly high cost of travelling. Nowadays everybody travels. According to the latest railway figures available, the number of passengers for the year 1947-1948 amounted to 902,260,000. The villagers no longer live in isolation; they come into contact with the outside world.

(b) *Industrial Towns.* Most of the villagers who travel go to the industrial towns. They work there for a number of years, but most of them return periodically to

their village, if only for an occasional visit. They have wonderful stories to tell; of trams and buses, motorcars and lorries, harbours and ships, popular meetings and cinemas. They are workers now and members of the Trade Union; they have been taught their rights: decent wages, fair treatment, limited working hours, the effectiveness of strikes. It may sound unbelievable to the village stay-at-homes, but there is no denying that they are deeply stirred. In this way do the industrial towns contribute to the spread of new ideas in the village community.

(c) *Political Agitation.* It is not only the travelling villagers who have disturbed the equal tenor of village life. Political leaders have toured the rural districts to win the sympathies of the villagers for their cause. At first they preached the boycott of foreign cloth, and so effective was their campaign that the villagers made bonfires of their clothes and wore Indian-made garments. In times of scarcity these political leaders advised them to combine against their landlords and even to defy Government. It was an unheard-of thing to do, yet the villagers did it. In large parts of India successful campaigns were started to pay neither rents to the landlords, nor the land tax to the Government. Agrarian troubles broke out, and punitive measures were taken, but the villagers stood firm and fought back like well-trained soldiers.

(d) *Social Workers.* Other men visited the villages to render selfless service. These were the social workers, anxious to put an end to the evil of unemployment, when there is no work in the fields, and no wages can be earned. The *charka* came to the villages, as well as other occupational pursuits.

(e) *Education.* Finally village schools were opened, and the schoolmaster taught *the three R's*—Reading,

(w)Riting and (a)Rithmetic—to many of the formerly totally neglected children. Even the lowest of the lowly, the members of the Depressed Classes, were not left to the mercy of their oppressors. Dr. Ambedkar has seen to this, and so had Mahatma Gandhi who called them Harijans, the sons of God.

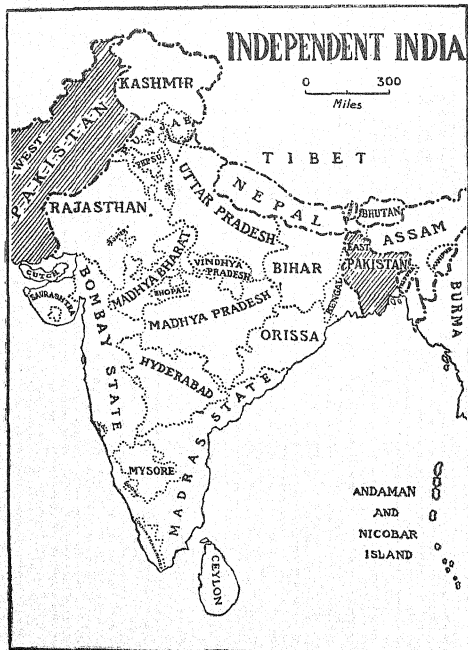
3. Result. All these influences, and others besides, greatly changed the manners and the customs of the country.

V. THE NEW ORDER

1. Emancipation of Women. The greatest change of all in the manners and customs of India is the part nowadays played by women in the social life of the country. Formerly the woman's sole domain was her home, where her power was unquestioned. In our own days this power has made itself felt much farther afield. The Home Rule Agitation (1914-1917) enlisted the services of the women, and it did not take them long to become conscious of their own rights. The first All-India Women's Conference was held in 1917. After thirty years the Conference has 40 branches, 164 constituent branches, and a membership of over 27,000. From among these members have come the leaders of the Women's Movement, who direct the activities of their followers in every direction, political, economic, moral, social and cultural; they are interested in female education and in bettering the position of women throughout India.

Once a woman takes up a task she puts her heart and her soul into it; and this explains the rapid spread of the Women's Movement and its growing influence in the home and outside it. In 1948 more than six million had the right to vote, instead of 3,15,000 in 1919. A hundred

years ago it would have been fantastic to think of a woman in the Central Cabinet, or becoming one of India's ambassadors, a Provincial Governor, a Minister or a



member of the Constituent Assembly. All this has happened. Truly the old order changeth, yielding place to new.

2. Caste Rules. Another proof of the great change in the manners and customs is the gradual suppression of certain objectionable caste regulations. In former days the caste system governed the private and social life of the great majority of the Hindu Community in matters of diet, marriage, religious worship, and professional occupation. The most stringent punitive measures were taken against those who ventured to break any of these deep-rooted customs. Little by little social and religious reformers are breaking down these barriers between citizens of the same country. Many crying evils are being redressed: the cruelty of child-marriages and enforced Hindu widowhood, the restricted use of the village well and of places of worship, and the inter-dining prohibition among members of various castes; while Untouchability has been constitutionally suppressed.

According to the Preamble to the Constitution of India, Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are to be the characteristic features of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

PERIOD V (INDIA AFTER 1947)

I. The Indian Republic

When India became independent in 1947, it was not like a finished house ready for occupation, the house had still to be erected. The building of it is here described under three headings.

I. INDIA, BRITAIN AND THE PRINCELY STATES

1. India and Britain. After the Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament in July 1947, it rested with India to decide whether or not to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These nations do not admit any outside interference in their internal and external affairs, but they co-operate among themselves and have a loose union under the nominal overlordship of the reigning monarch of England. The monarch is the head of each Dominion, and on the recommendations of a Dominion he appoints a Governor-General to control the affairs of the Dominion. This kind of relationship exists in the case of Canada, Australia and a few other countries in the Commonwealth.

The difficulty in the way was the 1929 resolution of the Indian National Congress to claim *Purna Swaraj*, which does not recognize the nominal overlordship of the sovereign of England and does not want to be under a Governor-General appointed by him. *Purna Swaraj* means a Republic. This difficulty was solved in a Conference of all the Prime Ministers of the Dominions of the British Commonwealth, held in London in 1949. On April 27th, 1949, this Conference decided that it was sufficient for India to acknowledge the reigning monarch

of England as the head of the Commonwealth; it was not necessary to recognize his nominal overlordship.

This solution of the problem was accepted by India on May 17th, 1949; and on January 26th, 1950, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic (*Purna Swaraj*) within the Commonwealth, not under a Governor-General appointed by the sovereign of England, but under a President elected by the Indian people through their legislatures.

2. India and the Princely States. The Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1947, annulled the existing treaties between Britain and Indian princes, who became independent rulers as their ancestors had been in pre-British days. There was now some danger lest the princes and the Government of India should fail to form a union. The British Government prevailed on the Indian princes to refrain from doing anything to which the Indian Government could take exception. In other words the princes subscribed to a 'Standstill Agreement' till new arrangements were made.

New arrangements were made, but the Indian princes had no say in the matter. They were asked, and in fact ordered by Sardar Patel to join the Indian Union. All complied, except two major States: Hyderabad and Jammu-Kashmir. Hyderabad was compelled by the use of force to yield, while Jammu-Kashmir joined the Union when it was threatened with invasion by the northern tribes in 1947. All the Native States signed 'Instruments of Accession', i.e., documents declaring that they joined the Indian Union. They surrendered three major departments of administration: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

Next, Sardar Patel started to introduce popular government into the Native States. Two hundred states became

part of the neighbouring provinces and sixty others were placed under the direct control of the Central Government—their rulers no longer wielding any powers and becoming pensioners. Another two hundred and seventy-five states were divided into provincial groups under a Rajpramukh or Governor; and these Indian princes were rulers no longer. Their fate was shared by the princes of three larger states: Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu-Kashmir, which became separate provinces.

Within the short space of two years (1947-1949) the Indian states disappeared from the map of India, and their rulers were reduced to the rank of ordinary citizens pensioned by the Indian Union.

II. THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

1. The Makers of the Constitution. When India became independent it had to decide upon a form of government for itself. This was the task of the already existing Constituent Assembly (Constitution-making body) which became the supreme legislative assembly of Independent India. Its members entrusted this task to a Constitution Drafting Committee under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. A draft of the new Constitution, prepared by this committee, was submitted to the Constituent Assembly towards the end of 1948. It was approved and adopted on November 26th, 1949, and it came into force on January 26th, 1950, the Republic Day.

2. The States of the Union. India is a Democratic Republic and Union of States, *i.e.*, provinces, the separate parts of a great republic as in the United States. The 1949 Constitution divided India into 28 states, subdivided into 3 groups: A, B, and C states. A states were the former Governors' provinces of British India, with long years of

administrative experience and free from the control of the Central Government. B states, mostly the former Native States of Indian princes, had no such experience, and were under the control of the Central Government. C states were small or backward areas directly administered by the Central Government.

Many people complained that these divisions were out of place in a Democratic Republic, and these divisions were suppressed in 1956. In that year the States Reorganisation Act reduced the number of states from 28 to 14, having all the same status. In addition six centrally administered areas, similar to the C states, were established. Bombay State, being bilingual, has since been divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat so that there are now 15 states.

3. The Union Government. It has its headquarters at New Delhi and consists of the President, a council of ministers, the Union Parliament composed of the Upper House (Rajya Sabha) and the Lower House (Lok Sabha) and the Union Judiciary known as the Supreme Court of India.

The President, who is the head of the Indian Union, is elected for five years by the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies. He has a Vice-President, elected by the Union Parliament, who acts for him and is chairman of the Rajya Sabha. All executive powers are exercised in the name of the President, but not by him. He is, like the King of England, the constitutional head, while all powers are exercised by the Council of Ministers, who are members of the Union Parliament and responsible to it. He appoints the leader of the majority party as the Prime Minister, and in consultation with him appoints the other ministers.

The *Lok Sabha* possesses supreme financial powers and

in this respect is superior to the Rajya Sabha. Government cannot levy taxes or spend money without the express sanction of the Union Parliament, which is usually granted once a year during the budget session. In the passing of legislative bills the two Houses have equal power.

The Lok Sabha has over 500 members, elected by all men and women above 21 years of age from the various states in the proportion of one member for a population of about 50,000. At the beginning of its term of office, the Lok Sabha chooses a chairman, who is known as the Speaker. It has to be dissolved after five years.

The *Rajya Sabha* has a maximum membership of 250. It is not dissolved like the Lok Sabha; but every two years one-third of its members have to retire, when elections are held to fill the vacancies. Its members are not elected by the people but by the Legislative Assemblies of the states. Twelve members of the Rajya Sabha are nominated by the President.

The *Supreme Court* consists of the Chief Justice of India appointed by the President and of not more than ten other judges also appointed by the President but in consultation with the Chief Justice. The Supreme Court has certain powers known as original and appellate jurisdiction. In its original jurisdiction it decides constitutional disputes between two or more states, or between the Union and a state. It interprets the Constitution and also upholds the fundamental rights of the people, guaranteed by the Constitution. In its appellate jurisdiction it hears appeals against the state High Courts. The Supreme Court can also advise the President on any question submitted to it by him.

4. State Governments. The head of a state is the Governor appointed by the President for a term of five

years. His powers in relation to the state ministers and legislature are similar to those of the President in the Union Government.

Nine states have two houses of legislature, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The other five states have one house of legislature, a Legislative Assembly. The constitution of the Legislative Assembly is similar to that of the Lok Sabha, and the number of its members depends on the population of the state. The members of the Legislative Council number about one-third of those of the Legislative Assembly, and one-third of them have to retire every two years. They are elected by the Legislative Assembly, municipalities, district boards, teachers and graduates. A few are nominated by the Governor. The members of the Legislative Assembly are elected by the people.

Each state has a High Court with appellate jurisdiction over all the subordinate courts of the state: district courts and other subordinate courts in civil and criminal matters.

5. Citizenship and Fundamental Rights. According to the Constitution and the Act of Parliament known as the Citizenship Act of 1955, citizenship is acquired by birth, residence or application. There is no such thing as state citizenship. Every Indian citizen enjoys full political and civil rights and privileges throughout India.

The fundamental rights are divided in the constitution into seven groups: right of equality, right of freedom, right against exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, right to property and right to constitutional remedies. These rights may be suspended in a grave national danger.

III. INDIA AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. At Home. The Constitution lays down Directive Principles to direct and guide Government in its domestic and foreign policy. In its domestic policy, Government provides for its nationals full employment, sufficient means of livelihood, a fair distribution of wealth, free and compulsory education for all. In other words, it is the domestic policy of Government to set up a welfare state having for its object the happiness and well-being of all alike. The rich should not be allowed to take undue advantage of the poor, and the poor should be given opportunities to improve their standard of life. The welfare state tends towards socialism, but not in the manner of Communist countries. In India the right of private property remains a fundamental right, and private enterprise in trade and industry is not prohibited.

Definite and detailed plans are drawn up for the progressive establishment of the welfare state by promoting agriculture and industry. These plans are called Five Year Plans. The first was drawn up in 1951, the second in 1956, and the third for 1961 is in preparation.

According to these plans, new lands are brought under cultivation, and modern methods of agriculture are introduced. Irrigation works are started to supply the fields with water and the industrial works with electric power so as to promote the manufacture of steel, textiles, cement, sugar, etc. Education, especially technical education, is greatly encouraged; importance is likewise given to sanitation, public health, housing, labour and child welfare, the uplift of the Harijans and the settlement of displaced persons, etc.

2. Abroad. *In general:* Under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership India's foreign policy is one of 'neutralism' and 'non-alignment'. This means that India does not

take sides one way or the other in disputes between different nations, but works for a peaceful settlement of international disputes. This policy has enabled India to play a leading part in world councils.

At the same time India fights with determination against colonialism and racialism in defence of the nations of Asia and Africa. In 1955 these nations held a Conference at Bandung, where on the initiative of India *Panchshila* or the Doctrine of the Five Principles was adopted. The most important of these principles are national independence and peaceful co-existence among the nations of the world.

In detail: India has political relations with the countries which are its next door neighbours: Burma and Ceylon, French and Portuguese territories in India, Pakistan and Tibet.

Burma and Ceylon: There is no territorial problem between these two countries and India. The Union at times remonstrates with them if the Indian settlers in those parts are badly treated.

French India: The French authorities and India are on good terms, since they have complied with India's request to hand over Pondicherry and Chandernagore to the Union.

Portuguese India: The relations between Portugal and India are strained, because the Portuguese refuse to surrender Goa, Daman and Diu.

Pakistan: Kashmir is a cause of dissension between Pakistan and India. Pakistan claims Kashmir as its own, because out of 4,000,000 inhabitants 3,000,000 are Muslims and only 1,000,000 Hindus, and sent its troops into Kashmir in 1947. India too claimed Kashmir as its own when the Maharaja acceded to India in 1947, and Indian troops were sent into Kashmir to oppose the Pakistan troops.

A major war was avoided when India appealed to the United Nations, and a cease-fire was arranged. Pakistan occupied northern Kashmir now known as Azad Kashmir, while India held southern Kashmir in occupation. Southern Kashmir, known as the Jammu and the Kashmir State, drew up its own Constitution in 1951 and joined the Indian Union, and it is now regarded as an integral part of India.

But the Kashmir problem is not yet settled in the opinion of Pakistan. The United Nations have not given their decision, and Pakistan insists on a plebiscite to settle the Kashmir question.

Tibet: It is an independent state, though China has never ceased claiming suzerainty over Tibet. In a Conference held at Simla in 1914, Tibet, China and India arrived at the following agreement: eastern Tibet was to be under Chinese control, western Tibet under the Dalai Lama's government, with the McMahon Line separating India and Tibet. In 1950 Communist China claimed the whole of Tibet, but promised not to interfere with the established Dalai Lama's Government. But in 1959 this promise was broken, and Tibet was made a part of China. Chinese troops crossed the McMahon Line on the plea that such a line had never existed, to which India has strongly protested.

QUESTIONS

1. How did India become a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations? [I-1]
2. What happened to the Indian states and their rulers? [I-2]
3. By whom was the Indian Constitution drawn up? Of how many states does it consist? Mention the persons and assemblies in authority in the Union and in the states. (II)
4. Briefly explain the relations between India and her neighbours. (III)

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